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PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

# HISTORY

OF THE

# SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

# EUROPEANS

IN THE

# EAST AND WEST INDIES.

BY THE ABBE RAYNAL.

WITH A

*New Set of Maps adapted to the Work, and a copious Index.*

*Volume fourth.*

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1804.

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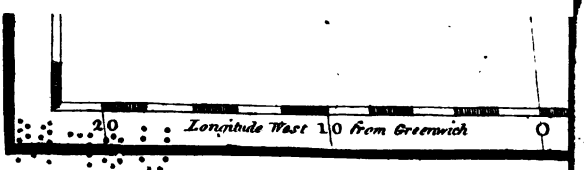
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## BOOK XI.

THE EUROPEANS GO INTO AFRICA TO PURCHASE SLAVES TO CULTIVATE THE CARIBBEE ISLANDS. THE MANNER OF CONDUCTING THIS SPECIES OF COMMERCE. PRODUCE ARISING FROM THE LABOUR OF THE SLAVES.

*The Europeans ſettled in the American iſlands procure cultivators from Africa.*

WE have ſeen immenſe countries invaded and laid waſte; their innocent and peaceable inhabitants either maſſacred or loaded with chains; a dreadful ſolitude eſtabliſhed upon the ruins of a numerous population; ferocious uſurpers deſtroying one another, and heaping their dead bodies upon thoſe of their victims. What is to be the reſult of ſo many enormities? They will ſtill be repeated, and they will be followed by one, which, though it may not produce ſo much bloodſhed, will nevertheleſs be more ſhocking to humanity: this is the traffic of man, ſold and purchaſed by his fellow-creature. The iſlands of America have firſt ſuggeſted the idea of this abominable trade, and we ſhall now ſee in what manner this misfortune hath been brought about.

Certain reſtleſs fugitives, the greateſt part of whom had either been diſgraced by the laws of their country, or ruined by their exceſſes, in this ſtate of deſperation, formed a

deſign of attacking Spaniſh or Portugueſe ſhips that were richly laden with the ſpoils of the New World. Some deſert iſlands, whoſe ſituation inſured ſucceſs to theſe piracies, ſerved at firſt for a place of rendezvous to theſe robbers, and ſoon became their country. Habituated to murder, they meditated the maſſacre of a plain and unſuſpecting people, who had received and treated them with humanity; and the civilized nations, of which theſe free-booters were the refuſe, adopted this infamous ſcheme without heſitation; which was immediately put in execution. It then became neceſſary to conſider what advantages might accrue from ſo many enormities. Gold and ſilver, which were ſtill looked upon as the ſole valuable productions to be derived from America, had either never exiſted in ſeveral of theſe new acquiſitions, or were no longer to be found there in ſufficient quantities to expect any conſiderable emoluments from working the mines. Certain ſpeculative men, leſs blinded by their prejudices than the multitude generally are, imagined, that a ſoil and climate, ſo totally different from ours, might either furniſh us with commodities to which we were ſtrangers, or which we were obliged to purchaſe at an exorbitant price: they therefore determined to apply themſelves to the culture of them. There were ſome obſtacles, apparently inſurmountable, to the execution of this plan. The ancient inhabitants of the country were now entirely deſtroyed; and had they not been ſo, the weakneſs of their conſtitutions, their habit of eaſe and indolence, and their invincible averſion for labour, would ſcarce have rendered them fit inſtruments to execute the deſigns of their oppreſſors. Theſe barbarians too, born in a temperate clime, could not ſupport the laborious works of agriculture under a burning and unwholeſome ſky. Self-intereſt, ever fruitful in expedients, ſuggeſted the plan of ſeeking cultivators in Africa, a country in which the abominable and inhuman cuſtom of ſelling its inhabitants hath ever prevailed.

Africa is an immenſe region, connected to Aſia only by a narrow neck of land of twenty leagues, called the iſthmus of Suez. This natural and political boundary muſt ſooner or later be broken down by the ocean, from that tendency it is obſerved to have of forming gulfs and ſtraits eaſtward. This peninſula, cut by the equator into two un-

equal parts, forms an irregular triangle, one of the ſides of which fronts the eaſt, the other the north, and the third the weſt.

*Opinions concerning the eaſtern coaſt of Africa.*

THE eaſtern ſide, which extends from Suez nearly as far as the Cape of Good Hope, is waſhed by the Red ſea and the ocean. The inland parts of the country are but little known, and what has been diſcovered of them can neither excite the mercenary views of the trader, the curioſity of the traveller, nor the humanity of the philoſopher. Even the miſſionaries, after having made ſome progreſs in theſe countries, eſpecially in Abyſſinia, totally diſcouraged by the treatment they met with, have abandoned theſe people to their inconſtancy and perfidy. The coaſts are in general only dreadful rocks, or a waſte of dry and burning ſand. Thoſe portions which are fit for cultivation, are parcelled out among the natives of the country, the Arabs, the Portugueſe, and the Dutch. Their commerce, which conſiſts only in a little ivory or gold, and ſome ſlaves, is connected with that of the Eaſt Indies.

The northern ſide, which extends from the iſthmus of Suez to the ſtraits of Gibraltar, is bounded by the Mediterranean. On this ſide, nine hundred leagues of coaſt are occupied by a country, which hath for ſeveral centuries been known by the name of Barbary; and by Egypt, which is under the yoke of the Ottoman empire.

*Opinions concerning the northern coaſt of Africa, and of Egypt in particular.*

THIS great province is bounded by the Red ſea on the eaſt, by Nubia on the ſouth, by the deſerts of Barca, or by Lybia on the weſt, and on the north by the Mediterranean. It is about two hundred and twelve leagues long from north to ſouth. A break of rocks, and a chain of mountains, running almoſt in the ſame direction, prevent it from being more than ſix or ſeven leagues broad as far as Cairo. From that capital to the ſea the country deſcribes a triangle, the baſis of which is one hundred leagues. This triangle includes another, known by the name of Delta, and formed by two branches of the Nile, which empty

themſelves into the Mediterranean, one of them at the diſtance of a league from Roſetto, and the other of two from Damietta.

Although this be a burning region, yet the climate is in general healthy; the only infirmity peculiar to Egypt is, the too frequent loſs of ſight. This calamity is thought to be occaſioned by a fine kind of ſand, which is ſcattered about in May and June by the ſouth winds. Would it not be more reaſonable to attribute it to the cuſtom thoſe people have of ſleeping in the open air nine months in the year? This opinion will be readily admitted, ſince it is obſerved, that thoſe who paſs the night in their houſes, or under tents, ſeldom experience ſo great a misfortune.

There are few countries on the face of the globe ſo fruitful as Egypt. The ſoil yields annually three crops, which require but one tillage. Vegetables ſucceed corn, and theſe are followed by pot-herbs; this happy fertility is owing to the Nile.

That river, the ſource of which is in Ethiopia, owes its increaſe to clouds, which falling down in rain, occaſion its periodical ſwell. It begins in the month of June, and augments till the end of September, at which time it gradually decreaſes. Its waters, after having traverſed an immenſe ſpace without dividing, are ſeparated five leagues above Cairo, into two branches, which meet no more.

A country, however, where nothing is ſo ſeldom met with as a ſpring, and where rain is an extraordinary phenomenon, could only have been fertilized by the Nile. Accordingly, from times of the moſt remote antiquity, fourſcore conſiderable canals were digged at the entrance of the kingdom, beſide a great number of ſmall ones, which diſtributed theſe waters all over Egypt. Except five or ſix of the deepeſt, they are all dry at the beginning, or towards the middle of winter; but then the ſoil no longer requires watering. If it ſhould happen, that the river hath not ſwelled to the height of four hundred inches, the lower grounds are only watered. The others, to which their wells, conſtructed with ſwing-gates, or with wheels, become uſeleſs, are conſidered as barren, and freed for that year of all impoſts.

The grounds are divided into three claſſes. That which is conſidered as the firſt of them, is the one which forms the

vakoups, or domain allotted to the moſques, or other religious eſtabliſhments. It is the worſt cultivated of any of the grounds, and that which is more ſpared in the taxes by an ignorant and ſuperſtitious government.

The principal civil and military officers of the ſtate enjoy the profits of the ſecond claſs. They leave very little to the bondſmen, who till the grounds with the ſweat of their brows; and they ſeldom pay into the treaſury the taxes they are indebted to it.

The third claſs is divided between a greater number of plain citizens, whoſe poſſeſſions, more or leſs extenſive, are cultivated by active and intelligent farmers. Theſe grounds compoſe the wealth of Egypt, and become the reſource of the public treaſury.

Though one third of the grounds be left untilled, yet the country is not depopulated. It is reckoned to contain five or ſix millions of inhabitants, the moſt numerous of which are the Cophts, who derive their origin from the ancient Egyptians, to whom they have no ſmall ſhare of reſemblance. Some of them have ſubmitted to the yoke of the koran, the reſt have remained ſubject to the goſpel. They occupy, almoſt excluſively, all the Upper Egypt, and are very numerous in the Lower; ſeveral of them are cultivators, but more of them profeſs the arts. The moſt intelligent among them ſuperintend the affairs of rich families, or ſerve as ſecretaries to men in office. When they have obtained theſe poſts, which are deemed honourable, they ſoon acquire an abſolute ſway over maſters enervated by the climate and by luxury. This kind of power ſoon leads them to the poſſeſſion of wealth, which they generally ſquander in the moſt infamous exceſſes. If motives of avarice ſhould have made them abſtain from the purſuit of pleaſure, they are deprived of their riches before the cloſe of a turbulent life, by the tyrants whom they had deceived. Children are ſcarce ever known to inherit the fortune of their fathers.

The moſt numerous race after the Cophts, is that of the Arabs. Theſe deſcendants of a people, who were formerly a conquering nation, all live in a ſtate of the utmoſt ignominy. In this abject condition, their actions are never animated with ſpirit, and they have never been known to take any part in the revolutions with which this country is ſo frequently agitated. Their maſters conſider them only in

the light of animals that are neceſſary for cultivation. Their lives and their fortunes are arbitrarily diſpoſed of, while theſe acts of injuſtice and cruelty have never brought down the vengeance of government upon the offenders. Theſe unfortunate people have a particular dreſs, they dwell in the fields, intermarry with one another, and ſcarce live upon any thing but vegetables and milk. If there be any among them who are able to indulge in a few conveniencies, they would not dare to do it, from the apprehenſion of expoſing themſelves to the riſk of being taken notice of, which might, ſooner or later, become fatal to them.

The remainder of the population is compoſed of Turks, Jews, and Armenians, and of men of divers countries and ſects, who have ſucceſſively ſettled in Egypt. Thoſe foreigners, whatever be the reaſon of it, ſeldom leave a numerous poſterity, and their deſcendants are not more fortunate. This humiliating ſterility, however, is chiefly obſerved among the Mamelucs.

In vain have theſe Circaſſians, or Georgians, been choſen in their youth from among the moſt healthy men in their provinces. In vain have the moſt beautiful wives of their country been beſtowed upon them. In vain have they been all kept in a ſtate of plenty, freed from the apprehenſions of want, and from every anxiety. Scarce any children iſſue from theſe well-adapted connections, and the few that are born die within the year. Only two families are known to be the deſcendants of this race, and they have yet reached no further than to the ſecond generation.

The government of Egypt differs from every other. Before the invaſion of the Turks, this region was under the ſway of a chief, who was choſen by ſoldiers, all born in ſlavery, and who ſhared his authority with him. Selim would undoubtedly have been deſirous to ſubmit this new conqueſt to the ſame deſpotiſm as his other provinces; but circumſtances were not favourable to this ambitious deſign. He was obliged to content himſelf with the rights of the dethroned ſoldan, and to leave his haughty lieutenants in poſſeſſion of the prerogatives they had for ſo long a time enjoyed. The ſultan ſent into Egypt fourteen thouſand of his beſt troops, in order to counterbalance this formidable militia. Far from attending to the intereſts of the Porte, this corps employed themſelves only about their own. They

ſoon acquired ſufficient influence to have every thing determined by their caprice; and they maintained the aſcendant they had gained, till growing effeminate by the climate, they were no longer able to maintain a power which was not fixed on any kind of baſis. It paſſed again into the hands of the Mamelucs, and that in a more extenſive manner than ever.

This ſingular dynaſty is compoſed of ten or twelve thouſand ſlaves, brought from Georgia and Circaſſia when they were very young. They enter into the ſervice of the great men of their nation, who have, like them, been all in a ſtate of ſlavery, and who, ſooner or later, give them their freedom. Theſe freedmen are obſerved to riſe from one poſt to another, till they attain to the rank of bey, which is the higheſt of all.

Theſe beys govern the twenty-four provinces of the kingdom. Their number ſeldom exceeds ſixteen or ſeventeen, becauſe the moſt reſolute among them are in poſſeſſion of more than one government, and becauſe ſome feeble diſtricts of Upper Egypt have been intruſted to Arabian chiefs from time immemorial. Although they ought all to be of equal rank, the bey who governs the capital moſt commonly aſſumes an authority over the reſt, unleſs he be ſupplanted by ſome one of his colleagues, richer, more powerful, or more artful, than himſelf. But whether the equilibrium be maintained or not, the free Turks never obtain any but civil or eccleſiaſtical employments. The military dignities, the offices of government, and all the higheſt honours, are deſtined only for thoſe who have lived in ſervitude. The divan, which is compoſed of the beys and of their creatures, is the real ſovereign. The pacha, who repreſents the ſultan, receives homage, and orders are even given in his name; but they are dictated to him by inſolent ſlaves. If he ſhould refuſe to do what is required of him, he is depoſed, and leads a retired life, till the ſeraglio hath either ſentenced him to death or recalled him.

The Mamelucs conſtitute the real force of Egypt. As they are all born in either a rough or a temperate climate, and as they have received an auſtere education, they form different troops of cavalry, which are divided among the beys, in proportion to the degree of influence, or the ambition of thoſe chiefs, and the greater or leſs eſtimation

they are holden in. Theſe powerful men diſpoſe of the Turkiſh infantry in a manner almoſt as abſolute. This infantry is effeminate, and hath entirely loſt its military ſpirit. It is ſcarce compoſed of any but peaceable tradeſmen, who cauſe their names to be regiſtered, in order to enjoy the prerogatives attached to the name of a ſoldier. But whatever it may be, its officers are entirely dependent upon the beys, without whoſe protection they would not be able to obtain promotion.

Beſide the contributions in kind, which are ſent as an offering from the grand ſignior to Mecca and Medina, which he cauſes to be diſtributed among the troops, ſeveral impoſts are raiſed in coin. The lands pay a tribute, and the chriſtians a poll-tax. The monopoly of caſſia, ſenna, and ſal-ammoniac, is ſold very dear. The cuſtoms produce a great deal. Theſe objects united amount at leaſt to ten millions of livres [416,666l. 13s. 4d.] of which there is ſeldom more than a fourth part conveyed to Conſtantinople. The chief bey retains the remainder, or divides it with colleagues, if he be not able to keep it all.

The intereſt of the pacha is not more attended to than that of the ſultan. Even the militia ſeldom receive their entire pay; and citizens of all ranks are habitually plundered.

Such numerous vexations could not have been ſupported, had it not been for the reſources derived from a very advantageous foreign trade, to which ſeveral ports are laid open. There are two in Alexandria, which formerly, it is ſaid, communicated with each other, and are at preſent, ſeparated by a very narrow ſlip of land. The eaſtern, or new port, is of eaſier acceſs than the other, but it is almoſt filled up by the ballaſt of the ſhips, which it is cuſtomary to fling into it. It is not a century ſince the veſſels were faſtened to the quay; but they are now at the diſtance of more than two hundred toiſes from it. The ſpace which they can occupy is ſo narrow, that it is neceſſary to fix them with ſeveral anchors, to prevent their ſhocking each other; and even this precaution is not always ſufficient. It happens very often in ſtormy weather, that theſe veſſels run foul of thoſe that are near them, and drag them along with them into flats, where they are miſerably foundered together.

The weſtern, or old harbour, is large and commodious. Men of war and merchantmen are equally ſecure in it; but the Europeans are excluded from it. Jealouſy hath induced the Turkiſh navigators to invent a prophecy, which announces, that the city will fall into the hands of the chriſtians, whenever their ſhips are admitted into that fine harbour.

Bequees is four leagues diſtant from this place. It carries on no trade; and is never frequented except when the winds prevent the ſhips from getting to Alexandria, or from entering the Nile. Its harbour is very ſmall, but exceedingly good; men of war would be ſheltered from all danger there even in winter.

The merchandizes which are carried down the river upon boats, that are called *macks*, and brought up again as far as the laſt cataract, or the ſouthern extremity of Egypt, are landed at Roſetto, one league diſtant from the weſtern mouth of the Nile. The proviſions are conveyed from the town itſelf to the ſhips, which are at no great diſtance, upon larger boats, known in that country by the name of *germes*.

A ſimilar ſtaple, but infinitely more conſiderable, hath been formed near the eaſtern mouth of the river at Damietta. This, perhaps, was formerly a harbour; but at preſent the veſſels are obliged to anchor in the open ſea, at two leagues from the coaſt, upon a good bottom. If they are driven from thence by ſtormy weather, which is rather frequent in theſe latitudes in the winter, they take refuge in the harbours of Cyprus, from whence they return to their poſt when the danger is over.

Seven or eight hundred Turkiſh, Barbary, or Chriſtian ſhips, or ſuch as belong to the chriſtians, which trade for theſe people, arrive annually in Egypt. One hundred and forty, or one hundred and fifty of them, come from Syria, ſeventy or fourſcore from Conſtantinople, fifty or ſixty from Smyrna, thirty or forty from Salonica, twenty-five or thirty from Candia, and all the reſt from ſome iſlands, or from ſome parts of the continent, which are leſs opulent and leſs fruitful. Their cargoes are valued, one with another, at 30,000 livres [1250l.] If we ſuppoſe there are ſeven hundred and fifty veſſels, the country conſumes to the amount of 22,500,000 livres [937,500l.] of the productions brought by theſe tra-

ders. But it delivers above double that ſum, in rice, coffee, flax, cloths, corn, vegetables, and in other articles. It muſt therefore receive 22,500,000 livres [937,500l.] in money.

The connections of the Europeans with Egypt are not ſo lucrative. The people among them by whom they are carried on, ſell woollen cloths, gildings, ſilk ſtuffs, iron, lead, tin, paper, cochineal, hardware, and glaſs; and receive in exchange rice, coffee, ſaffron, ivory, gums, cotton, ſenna, caſſia, ſpun thread, and ſal-ammoniac.

In 1776, the importations of the Venetians were reduced to 755,035 livres [31,459l. 15s. 10d.] and their exports to 820,062 livres [34,169l. 5s.] The importations of the Tuſcans and the Engliſh, who trade to Leghorn, did not exceed 2,143,660 livres [89,319l. 3s. 4d.] nor their exports 2,099,635 livres [87,484l. 15s.] The importations of the French did not exceed 3,997,615 livres [166,567l. 5s. 10d.] nor their exports 3,075,450 livres [128,143l. 15s.] The total importation did not therefore amount to more than 6,896,310 livres [287,346l. 5s.] and the exportation to more than 5,995,147 livres [249,797l. 16s. 10d.]

All the merchandize either bought or ſold by the Europeans pay a duty of three per cent. This tax amounts to ſix per cent. for coffee, and to ten per cent. for rice, the exportation of which is prohibited. This impoſition is for the profit of two ſhips ſent every year from the Dardanelles to guard the coaſts of Egypt from the depredations of the pirates, and which are of no other uſe but to oppreſs the traders, and to encourage ſmuggling.

Europe employs one hundred veſſels in this trade; but only fifty or ſixty of them return immediately to the ports from whence they were diſpatched. The others enter into the ſervice of any people who chooſe to employ them in the Levant.

Summer is the moſt favourable ſeaſon for ſailing from Europe to Egypt; the voyages are ſhortened by the weſt or north winds which blow almoſt continually at that time. Spring and autumn are the moſt proper ſeaſons for returning. The navigation is very dangerous during winter upon theſe coaſts, which are ſo low, that land is not diſcovered at two leagues diſtance, if the day be in the leaſt dark, or the ſky cloudy.

If Egypt ſhould ever emerge from the ſtate of anarchy in which it is plunged; if an independent government ſhould be formed there; and if the new conſtitution ſhould be founded upon wiſe laws, that region will again become what it formerly was, one of the moſt induſtrious and fertile countries of the earth. It would be abſurd to foretel the ſame proſperity to Lybia, which is inhabited at preſent by the people of Barbary.

*Revolutions in Lybia.*

THE early periods of this extenſive country are involved in the greateſt obſcurity; nor was any light thrown upon their hiſtory till the arrival of the Carthaginians. Theſe merchants, originally of Phœnician extraction, about a hundred and thirty-ſeven years before the foundation of Rome, built a city, the territority of which, at firſt very limited, in proceſs of time extended to all that country known by the name of the kingdom of Tunis, and afterwards much further. Spain, and the greateſt part of the iſlands in the Mediterranean, fell under its dominion. Many other kingdoms muſt apparently have ſerved to aggrandize this enormous power, when her ambitious views interfered with thoſe of Rome. At the time of this dreadful colliſion, a war between theſe two nations was inſtantly kindled, and carried on with ſuch obſtinacy and fury, that it was eaſy to foreſee it would not terminate but in the utter deſtruction of the one or the other. Rome, which was now in the height of its republican and patriotic principles, after many ſtubborn engagements, in which the greateſt military ſkill was diſplayed, obtained a deciſive ſuperiority over that which was corrupted by its riches. The commercial people became the ſlaves of the warlike power.

The conquerors maintained themſelves in the poſſeſſion of their conqueſts, till about the middle of the fifth century. The Vandals, then hurried on by their original impetuoſity beyond the limits of Spain, of which they were maſters, paſſed the pillars of Hercules, and, like an inundation, diffuſed themſelves over the country of Lybia. Theſe conquerors would certainly have preſerved the advantages they had acquired by their irruptions, had they kept up that military ſpirit which their king Genſeric had inſpired them with. But with this barbarian, who was not deſtitute of

genius, this ſpirit became extinct; military diſcipline was relaxed, and the government, which reſted only on this baſis, was overthrown. Beliſarius ſurpriſed theſe people in this confuſion, extirpated them, and re-eſtabliſhed the empire in its ancient privileges. But this revolution was only momentary. Great men, who can form and bring to maturity a riſing nation, cannot impart youth and vigour to an ancient and decayed people.

This is accounted for from a variety of reaſons, all of them equally ſtriking. The founder of an empire addreſſes himſelf to an inexperienced man, who is ſenſible of his misfortune, and diſpoſed, by the continuance of it, to docility. He hath only to diſplay the appearance of, and the character of benevolence, to be attended to, obeyed, and cheriſhed. Daily experience adds to the perſonal confidence he inſpires, and gives influence to his counſel. The ſuperiority of his judgment is ſoon neceſſarily acknowledged. His precepts of virtue muſt ever acquire a greater degree of force, in proportion to the ſimplicity of his diſcipline. It is not difficult for him to depreciate vice, of which the guilty perſon is the firſt victim. He attacks openly ſuch prejudices only as he expects to eradicate. He truſts to time for the ſubverſion of the reſt; and the ſucceſs of his projects is enſured by the impoſſibility of diſcovering their tendency. His policy ſuggeſts to his imagination a variety of meaſures, calculated to excite aſtoniſhment and to procure him veneration. He then gives his orders, and his commands are occaſionly ſanctified by the authority of Heaven. He is high-prieſt and legiſlator during his life, and at his death altars are erected to him; he is invoked; he is a god. The ſituation of the reſtorer of a corrupted nation is very different. He is an architect, who propoſes to build upon a ſpace covered with ruins; he is a phyſician, who attempts to cure a mortified carcaſe; he is a wiſe man, who preaches reformation to a hardened people. He can expect nothing but hatred and perſecution from the preſent, and will not live to ſee the future generation. He will reap few advantages, with a great deal of labour, during his life, and will obtain nothing but fruitleſs regret after his death. A nation is only regenerated in a ſea of blood. It is the image of old Eſon, whoſe youth Medea could renew by no other mode, except that of cutting him to pieces and boiling him. It is not in

the power of one man to raiſe a fallen nation. It appears that this muſt be the reſult of a long ſeries of revolutions. The man of genius doth not live long enough, and leaves no ſucceſſors.

In the ſeventh century, the Saracens, formidable in their inſtitutions and their ſucceſs, armed with the ſword and with the koran, obliged the Romans, weakened by their diviſions, to repaſs the ſeas, and augmented with the acceſſion of the northern part of Africa, that vaſt dominion Mohammed had juſt founded with ſo much glory. The lieutenants of the caliphs afterwards deprived their maſters of theſe rich ſpoils, and erected the provinces intruſted to their care into independent ſtates.

This diviſion, with reſpect to ſtrength and power, inſpired the Turks with the ambition of making themſelves maſters of this territority. Their ſucceſs was perhaps more rapid than they had expected; but a new revolution ſoon reduced theſe conſiderable conqueſts to very trifling advantages.

The pachas, or viceroys, intruſted with the care of the conquered countries, carried along with them that ſpirit of rapine, of which their nation had left ſuch indelible traces. They were not the people alone who were expoſed to perpetual pillage; the oppreſſion was alſo extended to the troops, although they were all Ottoman. Theſe ſoldiers, who were more inclined to commit acts of injuſtice than to put up with them, repreſented to the Porte, that the Moors and Arabs, irritated by repeated acts of tyranny, were ripe for a rebellion; that Spain, on her part, was preparing for an immediate invaſion; and that the army, being incomplete and ill paid, had it neither in their inclination nor in their power to prevent theſe troubleſome events. There was but one effectual method diſcovered to eſcape ſo many calamities; this was the founding of a particular government, which, under the protection of the ſeraglio, and paying a tribute to it, would itſelf provide for its maintenance and for its defence. Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, were put under a ſimilar legiſlation, which is a ſpecies of ariſtocracy. The chief, who, under the title of dey, governs the republic, is elected by the ſoldiers, who are always Turkiſh, and conſtitute the only nobility of the country. Theſe elections are ſeldom made without bloodſhed; and it is no unuſual thing for a man, who hath been elected in the midſt of riot and

ſlaughter, to be afterwards aſſaſſinated by a reſtleſs faction, who deſign either to ſecure that diſtinction for themſelves, or to ſell it for their advancement. The empire of Morocco, though hereditary, is ſubjected to the ſame revolutions. We are going to ſee to what ſtate of degradation this anarchy hath reduced a great part of the globe.

*Preſent condition of Tripoli.* The ſtate of Tripoli is bounded by Egypt on one ſide, and by Tunis on the other, and extends two hundred and thirty leagues along the coaſt. Though the territory be not very fertile, yet the population might be eaſily increaſed ten fold, becauſe the abundance of fiſh might ſupply the deficiency of crops, and theſe might alſo be improved by additional labour. The inland part of the country is nothing but a deſert. We meet only, at a diſtance from each other, ſome Mooriſh and Arabian families, ſettled in the few places where they diſcovered land enough to furniſh them with a moderate ſubſiſtence. At thirty days journey from the capital, is ſituated the miſerable and tributary kingdom of Fez, the inhabitants of which are black. The little intercourſe the countries maintain with each other, can only be kept up through dry and moveable ſands, where water is ſeldom to be met with. The republic may enjoy a revenue of 2,000,000 livres [83,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*] from the palm-trees, the wells that are in the country, the cuſtoms, and the mint.

The caravans of the Gadamies, and of Tombuto, formerly carried a great deal of gold to Tripoli; but they have not lately been ſo rich or ſo conſtant. The caravan of Morocco ſtill continues to call there in its way to and from Mecca, that place which is ſo much revered by the Muſſelmen; but, as the number of pilgrims hath evidently decreaſed, this paſſage is no longer ſo uſeful. For theſe reaſons, the trade which is carried on by land is reduced to nothing, or to very little.

That which is carried on by ſea is rather more conſiderable. The navigators of the Levant ſometimes take in their cargoes from ſome of the indifferent harbours ſcattered along that immenſe coaſt, but moſt of them make their purchaſes and ſales in the harbour of the capital, which is much better than the reſt, and in which are collected all the foreign mer-

chandize, as well as thoſe of the country. Although theſe operations be not very important, yet the connections of the republic with Europe are ſtill more inſignificant.

No people, except the Tuſcans and Venetians, maintain any conſtant intercourſe with Tripoli; and yet the mercantile articles of the former are not ſold for more than 140,000 livres [5833l. 6s. 8d.] and thoſe of the latter do not amount to 200,000 livres [8333l. 6s. 8d.] The former have remained ſubject to all the formalities of the cuſtoms; the ſecond have freed themſelves from them, by paying annually 55,500 livres [2312l. 10s.] to the treaſury. The French have diſdained to have any ſhare in this bargain, though their ſovereign hath not diſcontinued to ſend an agent to Tripoli.

Of all the Barbary ſtates, Tripoli was for a long time the one which had the moſt numerous and the beſt armed privateers. They always ſailed from the capital, which bears the ſame name as the kingdom.

This town, which hath long been ſuſpected of being the ancient Orea, on account of its magnificent ruins, and of a beautiful aqueduct in great preſervation, and which muſt at leaſt have been a Greek or Roman colony, is ſituated on the borders of the ſea, in a plain which only produces dates, and where neither ſprings nor rivers are to be found. It was one of the firſt poſts occupied by the Arabians, who entered into Lybia through Egypt. The Spaniards took it in 1510, and eighteen years after, it was given by the emperor Charles V to the knights of Malta, in whoſe hands it remained only till the year 1551. It hath ſince been twice bombarded by the French; but the boldneſs of theſe pirates hath not been in the leaſt reſtrained by theſe chaſtiſements. The decline, and ſubſequent ruin of its maritime forces, have been entirely brought about by the civil commotions by which this unfortunate country hath been inceſſantly ſubverted.

*Preſent ſituation of Tunis.*

Tunis hath likewiſe neglected its military navy, ſince the time that the regency hath concluded treaties with the northern powers, and ſince Corſica hath fallen under the dominion of the French. It was found that the value of the prizes was hardly ſufficient to reimburſe the expences of fitting

out; and ſcarce any other veſſels have been preſerved, except ſuch as were thought neceſſary to protect the coaſts from the invaſions of the Malteſe.

The land forces have experienced no diminution. Five or ſix thouſand Turks, or chriſtian renegadoes, conſtitute the firmeſt ſupport of the republic.

Their children, under the name of couloris, form a ſecond troop; they are put upon pay as ſoon as they are born, and the firſt payment they receive is two aſpres, or one ſol [about a halfpenny.] This increaſes with their age, and with their rank, as far as twenty-nine aſpres, or fourteen ſols ſix deniers [rather more than 8d.]; and it is reduced to half that ſum, when theſe ſoldiers are obliged by their infirmities, or by the wounds they have received, to retire.

The cavalry of the ſtate conſiſts of ſeven thouſand Moors; their pay is very trifling, and, moſt frequently, given to them in proviſions. Their moſt common occupation is to collect the duties impoſed upon the Arabs.

Theſe troops are all armed with firelocks without bayonets, and with two piſtols at their girdle. Beſide theſe, the Turks have a dagger, and the Moors a ſtiletto. In all of them, courage and impetuoſity muſt both ſupply the deficiency of regular manœuvres and diſcipline.

No country in the northern part of Africa hath ſo conſiderable a revenue as Tunis. It conſiſts of 18,000,000 of livres [750,000l.] This proſperity, which is entirely of a very modern date, hath been the conſequence of a very fortunate revolution in the government. The dey, who in conjunction with his Turks, held the reins of government, hath been deprived of the greateſt part of his authority, and hath been ſucceeded by a Mooriſh prince, who, under the title of bey, at preſent conducts the affairs of government, and is aſſiſted by a more wiſe and more moderate council. Oppreſſions have, in ſome degree, been alleviated; the ſoil hath been leſs ill-cultivated, and the manufactures have acquired ſome extenſion. It was ſcarce poſſible that the connections with the inland parts of Africa could increaſe; they will always be confined to the barter of a ſmall number of articles, for gold duſt, conveyed acroſs immenſe ſands and deſerts: but the maritime connections have been extended. The Levant hath received a greater quantity

of productions, and the trade with Europe hath likewiſe improved.

Though England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Venice, Raguſa, and ſometimes Tuſcany, ſend conſuls to Tunis, the trade carried on with thoſe nations is very trifling; and, indeed, the Engliſh have no concern in it. They only keep an agent there for the greater ſecurity of their flag in the Mediterranean, and to procure an additional mart to the inhabitants of Minorca. The French carry off the greateſt part of the trade from their united rivals; and yet they do not introduce goods annually into the dominions of the republic, to the amount of more than 2,000,000 of livres [83,333l. 6s. 8d.] To the profit which theſe people derive from their exports and imports, which become every day more conſiderable, muſt be added, the benefits which accrue to their navigators, by employing their veſſels to carry the proviſions of the republic to every ſea-port of the Levant, and by bringing back what the republic receives from thoſe places for its ſubſiſtence. Every one of the numerous veſſels employed in this coaſting trade pays thirty-one livres ten ſols [1l. 6s. 3d.] for the privilege of anchoring, and an equal ſum when they land their cargoes.

Every commodity that enters the ſtate is not obliged to pay more than three per cent. if it comes directly from the country which furniſhes it. But the productions of the north, or of other parts, which have been depoſited at Leghorn, pay eight per cent. as well as thoſe which come immediately from that celebrated port, and even eleven per cent. when directed to Jews. Formerly government had kept in their own hands the excluſive trade of the oils, which are required by ſome parts of Europe for their ſoap manufactories, and by Egypt, Algiers, and Tripoli, for other purpoſes; they have given up this monoply; but this ſacrifice hath been purchaſed by very conſiderable duties.

Though Tunis hath concentrated within its own walls a great part of the trade, the other harbours of the republic, ſcattered along a coaſt of fourſcore leagues in extent, receive likewiſe ſome veſſels.

The one which is the neareſt to Tripoli, is called Sfax. It hath a clayiſh bottom, and hath ſo little water, that the ſmalleſt veſſels are obliged to anchor at a diſtance, and to

fatigue their crews to exceſs, or to ruin themſelves in expences for boats. The ſoil doth not produce any proviſions proper for exportation, but ſome important manufactures have been formed in the town, which is moſtly inhabited by Arabs.

The harbour of Suſa is defended by three caſtles, even the moſt modern of which is falling into ruin, though it be not yet finiſhed. This harbour is very unſafe, the ſhips in it being conſtantly agitated by the eaſt and by the north-weſt winds, which ſometimes occaſion the loſs of thoſe that have not had time to ſhelter themſelves in the bay of Monoſter. Notwithſtanding this inconvenience, this city is the ſecond in the republic; and this is owing to the abundance of its oil and of its wool.

Tunis is ſituated in the midſt of infectious moraſſes, at the foot, or upon the declivity of a hill. Though the air be not pure, and though the waters be ſo bad, that the inhabitants are obliged to go two or three miles before they can find any that is fit to drink, yet one hundred and fifty thouſand of the leaſt barbarous people of Africa are collected within its walls. This town hath a communication with the ſea, by means of a lake, which can admit none but very flat boats, that are called *ſandals*. At the extremity of this lake is found a narrow canal leading to the Goulette, which muſt be conſidered as the harbour of the capital. This harbour is immenſe, ſafe, and moſt uncommonly even in its bottom and on its ſurface: it is only open to the north-eaſt winds, and is cloſed by two chains of mountains, which are terminated on the north by Cape Bona and by Cape Zebib.

Biſerta was very famous at the time that the republic kept up a great number of galleys; it was from that port they were fitted out, and they brought back to it the profits they reaped from their perpetual piracies. The canal which led from the harbour to the town hath been gradually filled up with mud, and it is at preſent acceſſible to no other veſſels than ſandals; even merchantmen can no longer enter it, and are obliged to caſt anchor rather in a dangerous ſituation.

Port-Farine, ſituated on the ruins, or in the neighbourhood of the ancient Utica, was formerly one of the moſt extenſive, ſafe, and commodious harbours of the Mediter-

ranean, and would ſtill be ſo under any other government except that of the Moors. It is defended by four forts, and cloſed by a narrow paſs, which at this time is ſcarce acceſſible to the ſmalleſt veſſels, and if it be ſtill neglected, will be quite filled up in a ſhort time, by the ſands continually thrown in by the ſea. It is, however, the arſenal, and the only aſylum for the naval military forces, which are at preſent reduced to three half-galleys and five xebecs. The place where Carthage formerly ſtood, is a few miles diſtant from this town; there are no other remains of this renowned city, beſide the ruins of a great aqueduct, and ſome ciſterns in tolerable preſervation. The traces even of its harbour are ſo much effaced, that the ſea is at the diſtance of a league from it.

The iſland of Galite is ſituated almoſt at the mouth of the Zaine, which ſeparates Tunis from Algiers. This iſland is covered with flocks, and more eſpecially with mules, which are in great requeſt throughout the whole of the Levant. Its numerous inhabitants are all weavers of wool, or employed in gathering ſponge. Not far from this iſland is that of Tabarca, which the family of the Lomellini had been in poſſeſſion of for two centuries, when they were deprived of it in 1741. The Genoeſe drew from this barren rock a great quantity of very fine coral.

*Preſent ſtate of Algiers.*

To the weſt of Tunis is the republic of Algiers, the inland parts of which are bounded by the deſert of Sahara, as are all the interior parts in Barbary; they are more extenſive, more populous, and better cultivated than is generally ſuppoſed. There are not many towns in them, and moſt of theſe are built upon the coaſts, the extent of which is one hundred and twenty leagues.

The public revenue is not proportionate to the number of inhabitants and to the quantity of productions. The duties are commonly loſt in the hands of diſhoneſt perſons who are appointed to collect them. The three beys, or governors of the eaſt, of the ſouth, and of the weſt, do not deliver into the treaſury more than 1,250,000 livres [52,083l. 6s. 8d.] and give only 117,000 livres [4875l.] to the troops; whatever more is required for the expences of the ſtate, is ſupplied by the cuſtoms, by the domain, by the

annua. levies in proviſions, and in cattle, by the more precarious profit ariſing from prizes taken at ſea, and from the ſale of ſlaves.

The principal militia of the country conſiſts entirely of Turks; their number ought to be twelve thouſand, but they are never complete. The dey, his lieutenants, and the members of the divan, are choſen out of this powerful body.

The deſcendants of theſe privileged men are called couloris; their number is ſixty thouſand, they are all in the ſervice of the regency, and paid in the ſame manner as at Tunis.

The cavalry, which conſiſts of about twenty thouſand men, is compoſed entirely of Moors; whether they make war againſt the Arabs, or are employed by government for the defence of the provinces, or in collecting the taxes, their pay is very trifling.

Beſide this numerous army, which is always kept up, the government can diſpoſe at pleaſure of the Moors who dwell in the plains, or among the mountains, if they ſhould be in want of them; they all of them join their ſtandards without reluctance, and attack the enemy with great intrepidity.

The naval forces are not near ſo numerous as thoſe of the land; at preſent they are reduced to ſeventeen veſſels; one ſhip of fifty guns, two frigates of forty-two and thirty-four guns, five large barks, two xebecs, four half-galleys, and three galliots; ſeveral of theſe veſſels, which are all deſtined for piracy, belong to the ſtate, others to the officers of the regency, and ſome even to private individuals. Every proprietor bears the expence of his armament, and divides the profits with the treaſury and with the crew. The dey commonly requires the prizes which conſiſt of timber for ſhip-building, and of military ſtores. He ought to pay the value of them, but the indemnity is never proportioned to the ſacrifice.

The navigators, to whom the ports of Algiers are opened, can land in ſeven or eight places.

The port of Callaa, at a ſmall diſtance from the frontiers of Tunis, is tolerably good, but it cannot hold more than five or ſix ſhips. Thoſe that are admitted into it are all French: ſome individuals of that nation have obtained, ever

ſince the year 1560, from the Mooriſh prince who governed the diſtrict at that time, the liberty of forming a ſettlement to carry on the coral fiſhery. They were driven away eight years after by the Turks, and re-eſtabliſhed in 1597, but they were again expelled: they were recalled in 1637, and permitted to rebuild a ſmall fortification formerly erected there, under the name of the baſtion of France. Being ſoon diſguſted with ſo inconvenient a ſituation, the perſons concerned transferred their ſettlement to Chale, which the Engliſh had been compelled to abandon; they themſelves were expelled ſoon after, and they were not allowed to return to their poſt, till after the bombardment of Algiers, executed in 1682 and 1684, by command of Lewis XIV.

In 1694, a more powerful aſſociation than any of the preceding obtained the excluſive trade upon a conſiderable extent of coaſt, by a treaty which hath often been renewed, and which will in all probability be maintained, becauſe the conditions of it are favourable to the militia, to whom the tribute upon which it is founded belongs. Several companies have ſucceſſively exerciſed this monopoly with more or leſs advantage. Since 1741, it is in the hands of a company, which hath formed at Marſeilles a capital of 1,200,000 livres [50,000l.] divided into twelve hundred ſhares, three hundred of which belong to the chamber of commerce of this celebrated city.

The firſt tranſactions of the ſociety were unfortunate. The depredations made by pirates and by the natives, by the competition of ſmugglers, and by a corrupt adminiſtration, reduced their capital, in 1766, to 570,000 livres [23,750l.]; ſince that period, their affairs have been ſo proſperous, that in the latter part of December 1773, they were in poſſeſſion of 4,512,445 livres 3 ſols 4 deniers [about 188,018l. 11s.] beſide the doubtful debts, the value of their buildings, and ſome merchandize which remained unſold in the warehouſes.

Their exports are trifling, and it is chiefly with money that they purchaſe coral, wax, wool, tallow, hides, and eſpecially corn. In 1773, they brought into the kingdom eighty-four thouſand three hundred and ſix loads of wheat, and ſixteen thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-three loads of barley, beans, and millet ſeed. One hundred, or one hundred and twenty veſſels, the fitting out of which coſts

about one hundred thouſand crowns [12,500l.] are annually employed in this buſineſs.

Though the company hath agents at Bona, and at Callaa, all the tranſactions are carried on at the laſt place. They are even permitted to have a few batteries and ſome ſoldiers in this fortified factory, in order to ſecure themſelves from the plunders of the pirates and from the inſults of the neighbouring Moors.

The court of Verſailles hath been often cenſured, for having ſhackled theſe connections in the bonds of a monopoly. It hath not been obſerved, that it was neceſſary to enſure the ſubſiſtence of Provence; and there was no other method of doing this, becauſe the exportation of corn from the ſtates of Barbary is ſeldom permitted.

Bona appears to have been the ancient Hippona. A few beautiful ruins are diſcovered amidſt the boldneſs of the Mooriſh taſte. It would be an eaſy matter to make a commodious harbour to the town, as it hath already an exceeding good road. This new aſylum would be ſufficiently protected by the works which have exiſted for a long while, under the name of the fort of Genoa.

Bugia is a tolerably large ſtaple for oil, and for the wax, which is found in the neighbouring plains; and eſpecially for iron, which is brought from more diſtant mountains, that abound in mines. Though its harbour be too much expoſed to the north winds, the ſquadrons of the republic uſed to anchor in it, before they were deſtroyed there by the Engliſh in the laſt century.

The antiquities which are found in Tedelez prove that it was formerly a conſiderable place. The veſtiges of a great pier are even diſcerned upon the ſhore, which probably advanced into the ſea, and formed a port to the town. It is at preſent a very indifferent harbour, where ſhips which go to take in their lading are too often deſtroyed.

Algiers, the capital of the ſtate, forms an amphitheatre, upon the declivity of a hill, which is crowned by the citadel. Its territority is well cultivated by ſlaves, and is covered with wheat, rice, hemp, fruits, vegetables, and even with vines, planted by the Moors who were expelled from Granada. The entering into, and the going out of, the port, are very difficult; it is exceedingly narrow, and doth not contain ſufficient water to hold men of war: and in ſtormy

weather even the merchantmen are not ſafe; they often run foul of each other, and are ſometimes ſhattered, when the north or north-eaſt winds blow with violence. The harbour forms a ſemicircle; it hath a good bottom; but as it is expoſed to the ſame winds as the port, the ſhips are in equal danger in the ſtormy ſeaſons.

Serceli is five or ſix leagues diſtant from Algiers. This town hath a creek, or ſmall bay, where ſeveral veſſels caſt anchor. Its ſoil is very low, its ſhore beautiful, and it is the part of the coaſt the moſt favourable for a deſcent.

Arſew, the environs of which are delightful, muſt be the Aſſenaria of the ancients. Some tolerably fine remains of ſeveral monuments are found in it. Its port is ſafe, commodious, and well frequented. A harbour might be formed in it, at a trifling expence, capable of receiving the largeſt ſhips. This is the Mooriſh town neareſt to Oran, which the Spaniards took poſſeſſion of in 1509; which was retaken from them in 1708; and which they retook in 1732, and have kept ever ſince.

The numbers of European ſhips which land annually at the ſtates of Algiers, vary according to circumſtances; but they are never conſiderable; the moſt plentiful harveſt doth not attract above one hundred. A French veſſel, whether great or ſmall, laden or empty, pays for its anchorage 143 livres 8 ſols [5l. 19s. 6d.]; and this tax is ſtill higher for other nations. They ought all, without diſtinction, to pay three per cent. for all the merchandize they bring in; but this duty is reduced to two per cent. by the arrangements made with the farmers of the cuſtoms. The proviſions that are exported from the country are ſubjected to no tax, becauſe government are the only dealers in them.

Though the Engliſh, the Danes, the Dutch, the Swedes, and the Venetians, are perfectly free in the ports of Algiers, they nevertheleſs carry on no great trade there. Three fourths of the trade are fallen into the hands of the French; and yet their annual ſales do not amount to more than 200,000 livres [8,333l. 6s. 8d.] nor their purchaſes to above 600,000 livres [25,000.] Two thouſand ſix hundred and fifty quintals of wool, five thouſand of oil, ſixteen thouſand of wheat, and thirty thouſand hides, are the amount of all their exports. The tranſactions of the African company are not included in theſe calculations.

*Preſent ſtate of Morocco.* Morocco hath been as often and as dreadfully ſubverted as the reſt of the northern coaſts of Africa; but hath not ſubmitted to the Turkiſh yoke. Even thoſe provinces which had been diſmembered from it, under the name of Fez, of Sus, and of Tafilet, have been ſucceſſively united to the empire. One ſingle deſpot governs this immenſe country, according to his caprices, which are almoſt always extravagant or ſanguinary. The deſtructive authority which he hath been ſuffered to uſurp, is perpetuated without any other regular troops, except a feeble guard of timid negroes. It is only with ſome of theſe ſlaves, whom he chooſes occaſionally to aſſemble under his banners, that he makes war. His maritime forces are ſcarce more formidable. They conſiſt of three frigates, two half-galleys, three xebecs, and fifteen galliots. Piracy hath been hitherto their only occupation. It might be expected that theſe depredations would ſoon be put an end to, if it were reaſonable to rely upon the faith of a tyrant, or to hope that his ſucceſſors would at laſt adopt ſome more humane ſentiments. The public revenue muſt be very trifling, in a region which is for ever ruined by vexations and maſſacres. The expences, however, are ſtill leſs. Whatever can be ſpared is added to increaſe an immenſe treaſure, anciently formed out of the ſpoils of Spain, and always augmented by a long ſeries of ſovereigns, more or leſs cruel, who looked upon money as the only good, and thought nothing of the happineſs of their ſubjects.

This ardent thirſt of wealth hath deſcended from the throne to individuals. A caravan ſets out annually from the town of Morocco, which was the capital of the ſtate, before Mequinez was preferred by the ſovereigns. This caravan, which goes in ſearch of gold from Upper Guinea, muſt have travelled over a ſpace of five hundred leagues before its arrival in the kingdom, two hundred in the empire itſelf, two hundred in the deſert of Sahara, and one hundred after having quitted it. In the midſt of the deſert, ſurrounded with barren and accumulated ſands, where it is not poſſible to travel but in the night, where the march muſt neceſſarily be ſlow, where one muſt be guided by a compaſs, and by obſerving the ſtars, in the ſame manner as on the ocean; in this deſert nature hath placed a leſs ſavage diſtrict, abounding in ſprings and in ſalt mines. The camels are

laden with this neceſſary foſſil, and it is carried to Tombuto, where gold is received in exchange.

This precious metal, when arrived at Morocco, is very ſeldom circulated there. It is buried, as in all governments where the fortunes of individuals are not ſecure. A ſimilar deſtiny attends the money which is introduced by the Europeans in the empire, in the nine harbours which are always open to them.

Tetuan is the neareſt port to the ſtate of Algiers. It is ſafe, unleſs the eaſterly winds blow with violence, which ſeldom happens. The river of Bourſega, which empties itſelf into it, ſerves for an aſylum to ſome pirates during the winter. The garriſon of Gibraltar formerly ſent to purchaſe there the cattle, fruit, and vegetables, neceſſary for its conſumption; but this connection hath ceaſed, ſince the ſovereign of the country hath required that the Engliſh conſul ſhould reſide at Tangier.

This town, conquered by Portugal in 1471, was given to the Engliſh in 1662. They forſook it, after keeping it two-and-twenty years. When they retired, they blew up a pier, which they had conſtructed for the ſecurity of the largeſt ſhips. The ruins of this beautiful work have rendered the approach of the bay very difficult. Accordingly, it would be of no importance, if the mouth of the river, which is diſcovered at the end, did not afford a ſhelter to moſt of the galliots of the empire. Tangier hath ſucceeded Tetuan in ſupplying Gibraltar with proviſions. The communication between theſe two Mooriſh towns is interrupted by the fortreſs of Ceuta, which is parted from Spain, to which it belongs, only by a ſtrait of five leagues.

Arrach is the natural vent for the productions of Aſgar, one of the largeſt and the moſt fertile provinces of the empire. This advantage, a fortunate poſition, and the goodneſs of its port, muſt ſooner or later impart to it ſome degree of activity. At preſent it is inhabited only by ſoldiers. Since the expedition which the French attempted againſt it in 1765, the fortifications raiſed by the Spaniards, when they were maſters of the place, have been reſtored.

Sallee was, not long ago, almoſt an independent republic, under a chief elected by itſelf. Its ſituation, in the midſt of the country ſubject to Morocco, enabled it to collect a great many proviſions. Its inhabitants were at once both

merchants and pirates. They have almoſt ceaſed to exerciſe either of theſe profeſſions, after having been ſubdued, and ſpoiled of their riches by the preſent monarch, at the time that his father was upon the throne. A ſand-bank, which ſeems to be perpetually increaſing, prevents all ſhips from entering the river, except thoſe which do not carry more than ſix or ſeven feet of water; but the harbour is ſafe from the end of April till the end of September.

Muley Muhamet was deſirous of building a commercial town in the peninſula of Fedale, and moſt of the buildings were begun. A harbour, which is ſafe in all ſeaſons, though the ſea be conſtantly agitated, had ſuggeſted this idea to him. He hath given it up, ſince he hath been made to underſtand that the expence would be thrown away upon a coaſt which was acceſſible almoſt in all parts.

In 1769, the Portugueſe forſook Mazagan, after having deſtroyed the works. Since this period, the place is almoſt deſerted. Its harbour is convenient in ſummer for ſmall veſſels; but even in that ſeaſon the men of war are obliged to anchor at a diſtance.

Saffi hath a large harbour, which is very ſafe part of the year, but too much expoſed in winter to the violence of the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt winds. Its ſituation, in the midſt of a fertile, rich, and populous country, had rendered this great town almoſt the general market of the productions of the empire. It hath been lately ſtripped of this advantage by Mogador, which is built on the moſt weſtern part of Africa.

The port of this new ſtaple is only a canal formed by an iſland, at the diſtance of five hundred toiſes from the land. One may ſail in and out of it with every wind; but it hath not ſufficient depth to harbour large ſhips, and the anchorage is not ſafe in bad weather. No man of war can anchor on the coaſt, on account of the great rapidity of the currents. Though the territory ſurrounding this place be not very fit for cultivation, the caprice of the deſpot, who ſtill governs the country, hath rendered it the moſt important mart of his dominions, more conſiderable even than all the others collectively.

Santa Cruz, ſituated in the kingdom of Sus, in the thirtieth degree of latitude, is the laſt maritime place of the empire. Its harbour is convenient, and very ſafe even for

ſhips of the line, but during ſummer only. It was formerly a tolerably great market, where the navigators found collected together all the productions of an extenſive and well cultivated country, and where all the gold which Tarodant drew from Tombuto was brought. The town was taken out of the hands of the Portugueſe, and returned under the dominion of the Moors, without entirely loſing its importance. An earthquake, which deſtroyed part of it in 1731, was more fatal than this revolution. It might perhaps have recovered from this calamity, had not Muley Muhamet, in a fit of paſſion, the cauſe of which was never known, driven the inhabitants out of it ſome years after, and ſubſtituted to them a colony of negroes.

Morocco receives but few European veſſels. Its ports are ſhut againſt ſeveral nations, and England, Holland, and Tuſcany, who have formed treaties with that power, reap no great advantage from them. In order to give ſome ſpirit to this trade, which was perhaps too much neglected, a capital of 1,323,958 livres 6 ſols 6 deniers [about 55,164l. 18s. 8d.] was formed at Copenhagen in 1755, which was divided into five hundred ſhares, of 2647 livres 18 ſols 4 deniers each [about 110l. 6s. 8d.] This aſſociation was to laſt forty years; but, for what reaſon is not known, it hath not continued half the time. Though the connections of France with that empire have not ſubſiſted beyond the year 1767, the tranſactions of this crown are of much more importance, and yet its annual ſales do not exceed 400,000 livres [16,666l. 13s. 4d.] nor its purchaſes 1,200,000 livres [50,000l.]

Every thing that enters, or comes out of, the ſtates of Morocco, pays ten per cent. Each veſſel is alſo obliged to deliver five hundred pounds of gunpowder, and ten bullets from ten to twelve inches in diameter, or 577 livres 10 ſols [24l. 1s. 3d.] in ſpecie. The Spaniſh coin is moſt commonly uſed; but all the others are admitted according to their weight and their denomination.

*Origin of the piracies committed upon the eaſtern coaſts of Africa.*

THE picture that hath juſt been traced of the countries of Barbary, muſt have appeared very horrid. The ſtate of deſolation in which we have ſeen them plunged,

*Means of putting a ſtop to them.*

hath been the unavoidable conſequence of the propenſity of theſe people to piracy. This taſte, which is very ancient in theſe regions, increaſed conſiderably after they had ſhaken off a foreign yoke. It became a paſſion, upon occaſion of an event which greatly increaſed their maritime forces.

Spain, which, for ſeveral centuries, had been ſubject to the diſciples of the koran, had, at laſt, broken its chains, and ſubdued the mohammedans in its turn. It was deſirous of compelling them to turn chriſtians; and its zeal was irritated by unſurmountable reſiſtance. Its blindneſs went ſo far as to depopulate the ſtate, in order to purge it of ſuſpicious ſubjects, and ſuch as were of an inimical religion. Moſt of theſe exiles ſought a refuge among the people of Barbary. Their new country was too ignorant of trade and induſtry, to enable them to put forth their talents, and to avail themſelves of their riches. The ſpirit of revenge made them pirates. At firſt they contented themſelves with ravaging the vaſt and fertile plains of their oppreſſors. They ſurpriſed, in their beds, the lazy inhabitants of the rich countries of Valencia, Grenada, and Andaluſia, and reduced them to ſlavery. But, at length, diſdaining the ſpoils they acquired upon a ſoil which they had formerly cultivated with their own hands, they conſtructed large veſſels, inſulted the flag of the other nations, and reduced the greateſt powers of Europe to the ſhameful neceſſity of ſending them annual preſents, which, under whatever denomination we may diſguiſe them, are, in fact, a tribute. Theſe pirates have been ſometimes puniſhed, ſometimes humbled; but their depredations have never been totally ſuppreſſed, although this might be done with the greateſt eaſe.

The Arabs, wandering in the deſerts; the ancient inhabitants of the country, who cultivate the fields; the Moors come out of Spain, moſt of whom are ſettled upon the coaſts; the Jews, who are deſpiſed, oppreſſed, and outraged: all the people, in a word, of that continent, deteſt the yoke which oppreſſes them, and would not make the leaſt exertion to continue under it.

No foreign ſuccour would retard for a moment the fall of this authority. The only power that might be ſuſpected of wiſhing its preſervation, the ſultan of Conſtantinople, is

not ſo highly gratified with the vain title of protector, which it confers on him, nor ſo jealous of that of the chief of the religion which is aſcribed to him, to intereſt himſelf warmly in its preſervation. All endeavours to excite the Turks to interfere, by ſubmiſſions, which particular circumſtances might probably extort from theſe plunderers, would certainly be ineffectual. Their intreaties would not impart ſtrength. For theſe two centuries paſt, the Porte has no navy, and its military power is continually decaying.

But to what people is reſerved the glory of breaking thoſe fetters which Africa is thus inſenſibly preparing for us, and of removing thoſe terrors, which are ſo formidable to our navigators? No nation can attempt it alone; and, perhaps, if it did, the jealouſy of the reſt would throw ſecret obſtacles in its way. This muſt, therefore, be the work of a general combination. All the maritime powers muſt concur in the execution of a deſign, in which all are equally intereſted. Theſe ſtates, which every thing invites to mutual alliance, to mutual good-will, to mutual defence, ought to be weary of the calamities which they reciprocally bring upon each other. After having ſo frequently united for their mutual deſtruction, let them at length take up arms for their preſervation. War, for once at leaſt, will then become uſeful and juſt.

One may venture to aſſert, that ſuch a war would be of no long continuance, if it were conducted with ſkill and unanimity. Each member of the confederacy, attacking at the ſame time the enemy it had to reduce, would experience but a weak reſiſtance, or, perhaps, none. Perhaps, this nobleſt and greateſt of enterpriſes would coſt Europe leſs blood and treaſure, than the moſt trivial of thoſe quarrels with which it is continually agitated.

No man would do the politicians who ſhould form this plan the injuſtice to ſuppoſe, that they would confine their ambition to the filling up of roads, the demoliſhing of forts, and the ravaging of coaſts. Such narrow notions would be inconſiſtent with the preſent improvements of reaſon. The countries ſubdued would remain to the conquerors, and each of the allies would acquire poſſeſſions proportionate to the aſſiſtance they had given to the common cauſe. Theſe conqueſts would become ſo much the more ſecure, as the happineſs of the vanquiſhed would be the conſequence of

them. This race of pirates, theſe ſea-monſters, would be changed into men by ſalutary laws and examples of humanity. The progreſs they would gradually make, by the knowledge we ſhould impart to them, would, in time, diſpel that fanaticiſm which ignorance and miſery have kept up in their minds. They would ever recollect, with gratitude, the memorable era which had brought us to their ſhores.

We ſhould no longer ſee them leave a country uncultivated, which was formerly ſo fertile. Corn and various fruits would ſoon cover this immenſe tract of land. Theſe productions would be bartered for the works of our induſtry and of our manufactures. European traders, ſettled in Africa, would become the factors of this trade, which would prove of mutual advantage to both countries. A communication ſo natural, between oppoſite coaſts, and between people who have a neceſſary intercourſe with each other, would, as it were, extend the boundaries of the world. This new kind of conqueſt which preſents itſelf to us, would amply compenſate for thoſe which, during ſo many centuries, have contributed to the diſtreſs of mankind.

The jealouſy of the great maritime powers, who have obſtinately rejected all expedients to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity on our ſeas, hath been the chief impediment to ſo important a revolution. The hope of checking the induſtry of every weak ſtate, hath accuſtomed them to wiſh that theſe piracies of Barbary ſhould continue, and hath even induced them to encourage theſe plunders. This is an enormity, the ignominy of which they would never have incurred, if their underſtanding had equalled their mercenary views. All nations would certainly profit from this happy change; but the greateſt advantages would infallibly redound to the maritime ſtates, in proportion to their power. Their ſituation, the ſafety of their navigation, the greatneſs of their capital, and various other means, would ſecure them this ſuperiority. They are conſtantly complaining of the ſhackles which national envy, the folly of reſtraints and prohibitions, and the confined idea of excluſive traffic, have impoſed upon their activity. The people gradually become as much ſtrangers to one another, as they were in the barbarous ages. The void, which this want of communication neceſſarily occaſions would be filled up, if Africa were brought to have wants

and reſources to ſatisfy them. The ſpirit of commerce would have a new career opened to its exertion.

Nevertheleſs, if the reduction and ſubjection of Barbary would not become a ſource of happineſs for them as well as for ourſelves; if we are reſolved not to treat them as brethren; if we wiſh not to conſider them as our friends; if we muſt keep up and perpetuate ſlavery and poverty among them; if fanaticiſm can ſtill renew thoſe deteſtable cruſades, which philoſophy, too late, hath conſigned to the indignation of all ages; if Africa muſt at length become the ſcene of our cruelties, as Aſia and America have been, and ſtill are; may the project which humanity hath now dictated to us, for the good of our fellow-creatures, be buried in perpetual oblivion! Let us remain in our ports. It is indifferent, whether they be chriſtians or muſſelmen who ſuffer. Man is the only object worthy to intereſt man.

Men! you are all brethren. How long will you defer to acknowledge each other? How long will it be before you perceive that Nature, your common mother, offers nouriſhment equally to all her children? Why muſt you deſtroy each other; and why muſt the hand that feeds you be continually ſtained with your blood? The acts that would excite your abhorrence in animals, you have been committing almoſt ever ſince you exiſt. Are you apprehenſive of becoming too numerous? And do you not think that you will be exterminated faſt enough by peſtilential diſeaſes, by the inclemency of the elements, by your labours, by your paſſions, by your vices, by your prejudices, by the weakneſs of your organs, and by the natural ſhortneſs of your life? The wiſdom of the Being to whom you owe your exiſtence hath preſcribed limits to your population, and to that of all living creatures, which will never be broken through. Have you not, in your wants, which are inceſſantly renewed, a ſufficient number of enemies conſpiring againſt you, without entering into a league with them? Man boaſts of his ſuperior excellence to all natural beings; and yet with a ſpirit of ferociouſneſs, which is not obſerved even in the race of tigers, man is the moſt terrible ſcourge of man. If his wiſhes were to be accompliſhed, there would ſoon remain no more than one ſingle being of the ſame ſpecies upon the whole face of the globe.

*Colour of the inhabitants of the weſtern coaſt of Africa, known by the name of Guinea.*

*Inquiry into the cauſe of this phenomenon.*

THIS being ſo cruel and ſo compaſſionate, ſo odious and ſo intereſting, unhappy in the northern part of Africa, experiences a deſtiny infinitely more dreadful in the weſtern part of this vaſt region.

Upon this coaſt, which extends from the ſtrait of Gibraltar to the Cape of Good Hope, the inhabitants have all, beyond the Niger, an oblong head; the noſe large, flattened, and ſpread out; thick lips; and curled hair, like the wool of our ſheep. They are born white; and the only brown colour they at firſt exhibit, is round the nails and the eyes, with a ſmall ſpot formed at the extremity of the genitals. Towards the eighth day after their birth the children begin to change colour, their ſkin darkens, and at length grows black, but of a dirty ſallow, and almoſt livid black; which, in proceſs of time, becomes gloſſy and ſhining.

The fleſh however, the bones, the viſcera, and all the internal parts, are of the ſame colour in negroes as in white people. The lymph is equally white and limpid; and the milk of the nurſes is everywhere the ſame.

The moſt palpable difference between them is, that the negroes have the ſkin much hotter, and, as it were, oily, the blood of a blackiſh hue, the bile very deep coloured, the pulſe quicker, a ſweat which yields a ſtrong and diſagreeable ſmell, and a perſpiration which often blackens the ſubſtance it comes in contact with. One of the inconveniencies of this black colour, the image of night, which confounds all objects, is, that it hath, in ſome meaſure, obliged theſe people to ſcar their face and breaſt, and to ſtain their ſkin with various colours, in order that they may know each other at a diſtance. There are ſome tribes in which this practice is univerſal; among others, it appears to be a diſtinction reſerved to ſuperior rank. But as we ſee this cuſtom eſtabliſhed among the people of Tartary, of Canada, and of other ſavage nations, it may be doubted, whether it be not rather the effect of their wandering way of life, than of their complexion.

This colour proceeds from a mucous ſubſtance, which forms a kind of network between the epidermis and the ſkin. This ſubſtance, which is white in Europeans, brown

in people of an olive complexion, and ſprinkled over with reddiſh ſpots among light-haired or carotty people, is blackiſh among the negroes.

The deſire of diſcovering the cauſes of this colour, hath given riſe to a variety of ſyſtems.

Theology, which hath taken poſſeſſion of the human mind by opinion; which hath availed itſelf of the firſt fears of infancy, to inſpire reaſon with eternal apprehenſions; which hath altered every thing, geography, aſtronomy, philoſophy, and hiſtory; which hath introduced the marvellous and the myſterious in every thing, in order to arrogate to itſelf the right of explaining every thing: theology, after having made a race of men guilty and unfortunate from the fault of Adam, hath made a race of black men, in order to puniſh the fratricide of his ſon. The negroes are the deſcendants of Cain. If their father was an aſſaſſin, it muſt be allowed, that his poſterity have made a ſevere atonement for his crime; and that the deſcendants of the pacific Abel have thoroughly avenged the innocent blood of their father.

Reaſon hath attempted to explain the colour of the negroes, from conſequences deduced from the phenomena of chemiſtry. According to ſome naturaliſts, it is a vitriolic fluid contained in the lymph of the negroes, and being too groſs to paſs through the pores of the ſkin, it ferments and unites with the mucous body, which it colours. It is then urged, why is the hair curled, and why are the eyes and teeth of negroes ſo white? for the authors of this ſyſtem do not conſider, that a vitriolic ſalt of ſuch power and activity would at length deſtroy all organization. This, however, is as perfect in negroes as in the whiteſt of the human race.

Anatomy hath thought to have diſcovered the origin of the blackneſs of negroes in the principles of generation. Nothing more, it ſhould ſeem, would be neceſſary to prove, that negroes are a particular ſpecies of men. For if any thing diſcriminates the ſpecies, or the claſſes in each ſpecies, it is certainly the difference of the ſemen. But upon conſidering the matter more attentively, this hath been found to be a miſtake, ſo that this explanation of the colour of negroes hath been given up. Neither have the conſequences, pretended to be deduced from the difference between their

figure and that of other people, appeared more convincing. Some of theſe forms are owing to the climate, moſt of them to ancient cuſtoms. It hath been conceived, that theſe barbarians might poſſibly have formed ſome extravagant ideas of beauty, according to which they had endeavoured to form their children; that this habit, in proceſs of time, had been turned into nature, ſo that it was very ſeldom neceſſary to have recourſe to art, in order to obtain theſe ſingular forms.

There are other cauſes of the colour of negroes, more ſatisfactory than theſe: the ſeat of it, as we have obſerved, is in the *rete mucoſum*, under the epidermis, or cuticle. The ſubſtance of this net-work, which is mucous in the firſt inſtance, is afterwards changed into a web of veſſels, the diameter of which is conſiderable enough to admit, either a portion of the colouring part of the blood, or of the bile, which is ſaid to have a peculiar tendency towards the ſkin. From hence proceeds among white people, in whom this *rete mucoſum* is more lax, the more vivid complexion of the cheeks. From hence alſo, that yellow or copper colour, which diſtinguiſhes whole nations; while under another climate, it is confined to one perſon, and produced by diſeaſe. The exiſtence of one or of the other of theſe fluids, is ſufficient to colour the negroes, eſpecially if we add, that the epidermis, and the *rete mucoſum*, is thicker in them; that the blood is blackiſh, and the bile deeper coloured, and that their ſweat, which is more plentiful and leſs fluid, muſt neceſſarily thicken under the epidermis, and increaſe the darkneſs of the colour.

This ſyſtem is alſo ſupported by natural philoſophy, which obſerves, that the parts of the body expoſed to the ſun are moſt deeply coloured, and that travellers, and people who dwell in the country, and who lead a wandering life; all thoſe, in a word, who live continually in the open air, and under a more burning ſky, have darker complexions. Philoſophy thinks, from theſe obſervations, that the primitive cauſe of the colour of the negroes may be attributed to the climate and to the ardour of the ſun. There are no negroes, it is ſaid, except in hot climates; their colour becomes darker in proportion as they approach the equator. It grows lighter at the extremities of the torrid zone. All the human ſpecies, in general, whitens in the ſnow, and is

tanned in the ſun. We perceive the different ſhades from white to black, and thoſe from black to white, marked, as it were, by the parallel degrees which cut the earth in the direction from the equator to the poles. If the zones, contrived by the inventors of the ſphere, were repreſented by real bands, we ſhould ſee the black ebony colour inſenſibly changing to the right and left as far as the tropics, and from thence the brown colour would be ſeen to grow paler and lighter as far as the polar circles, by ſhades of white continually increaſing in clearneſs.

As the ſhades of black are, however, deeper upon the weſtern coaſts of Africa, than in other regions perhaps as much heated, the ardour of the ſun muſt certainly be combined with other cauſes, which have an equal influence upon organization. Such of the Europeans as have made the longeſt reſidence in thoſe countries, attribute this greater degree of blackneſs to the nitrous, ſulphureous, or metallic particles, that are continually exhaling from the ſurface or from the bowels of the earth, to the cuſtom of going naked, to the proximity of burning ſands, and to other particulars which do not occur elſewhere in the ſame degree.

The circumſtance that ſeems to confirm the opinion, that the colour of the negroes is the effect of the climate, of the air, of the water, and of the food of Guinea, is, that this colour changes when the inhabitants are removed into other countries. The children they procreate in America are not ſo black as their parents were. After each generation, the difference becomes more palpable. It is poſſible, that after a numerous ſucceſſion of generations, the men come from Africa would not be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of the country into which they may have been tranſplanted.

Although the opinion, which aſcribes to the climate the firſt cauſe of the colour of the inhabitants of Guinea, be almoſt generally adopted, all the objections that may be urged againſt this ſyſtem have not yet been anſwered. This is one proof, added to a multitude of others, of the uncertainty of our knowledge.

And, indeed, how is it poſſible that our knowledge ſhould not be uncertain and circumſcribed? Our organs are ſo feeble, and our means ſo inſufficient, our ſtudies ſo much interrupted, our life ſo much agitated, and the object of our inquiries is of ſo immenſe an extent! Let naturaliſts,

philoſophers, chemiſts, and accurate obſervers of nature in all her works, perſevere in their labours inceſſantly; and, after ages of united and continual efforts, the ſecrets of Nature which they will have diſcovered, when compared to her immenſe treaſures, will be no more than as a drop of water to the vaſt ocean. The rich man ſleeps, and the learned man is watchful, but he is poor. His diſcoveries are matters of too little concern to government, to encourage him to ſolicit aſſiſtance or to hope for reward. More than one Ariſtotle would be found among us, but where is the monarch who would ſay to him, my power is at thy diſpoſal, make a free uſe of my riches, and perſevere in thy labours? Tell us, thou celebrated Buffon, tell us to what height of perfection thou wouldſt have carried thine immortal work, hadſt thou lived under an Alexander?

The contemplative man is ſedentary, and the traveller is either ignorant or deceitful. The man on whom genius hath been beſtowed, deſpiſes minute details and experiments; and the man who makes experiments is almoſt always deſtitute of genius. Among the multitude of agents which nature employs, we are only acquainted with ſome, and even theſe we have but an imperfect knowledge of. Who ſhall determine, whether the others are not of ſuch a nature as to elude for ever our ſenſes, as not to be wrought upon by our inſtruments, and not to be ſubmitted to our obſervations and experiments? The nature of thoſe two principles that compoſe the univerſe, ſpirit and matter, will be ever a myſtery.

Among the natural qualities of bodies, there is not a ſingle one, upon which multitudes of experiments are not yet remaining to be tried; and it is even a matter of doubt, whether all theſe experiments are feaſible. How long ſhall we be reduced to the neceſſity of forming conjectures, which are one day brought forth, and the next refuted? Who ſhall reſtrain that almoſt invincible propenſity to analogy, a mode of judging ſo ſeducing, ſo convenient, and ſo fallacious? No ſooner have we collected a few facts, than we haſten to build up a ſyſtem, which leads the multitude, and ſuſpends our reſearches after truth. The time employed in forming an hypotheſis, and the time employed in refuting it, are both equally loſt. The ſciences of calculation, that are ſo ſatisfactory to ſelf-love, which delights in overcoming

difficulties, and to the accurate man, who is fond of exact inferences, will continue, but with little advantage, in the common uſages of life. Religion, which looks with diſdain upon the labours of a being in a chryſalis, and which is ſecretly alarmed at the progreſs of reaſon, will multiply idle perſons, and retard the labours of the induſtrious by fear or by ſcruples. In proportion as a ſcience advances, the improvement of it becomes more difficult, the greater number become diſguſted, and the ſcience is no longer cultivated, unleſs by a few perſevering men, who ſtill attend to it, either from habit, or from the expectation, well or ill founded, of acquiring fame; till at length ridicule interferes, and the man is pointed at as a fool or a madman, who flatters himſelf that he ſhall overcome a difficulty which ſome celebrated perſons may not have been able to ſolve. Thus it is, that his contemporaries endeavour to conceal their apprehenſion of his being really ſucceſsful.

In all ages, and among all nations, we have ſeen ſome ſtudies prevailing, which were afterwards neglected, and ſucceeded by others in a kind of regular order. This ſickleneſs and diſguſt are not the defects of one man alone; they are the vice of the moſt numerous and moſt enlightened ſocieties. It ſhould ſeem as if the arts and ſciences had their periods of faſhion.

We have begun by having erudite men. After theſe came the poets and orators. To the poets and orators ſucceeded metaphyſicians, who gave way to geometricians, and theſe again to natural philoſophers, which in their turn have been replaced by naturaliſts and chemiſts. The turn for natural hiſtory ſeems to be upon the decline. We are now entirely abſorbed in queſtions of government, of legiſlation, of morality, of politics, and of commerce. If I might be allowed to hazard a propheſy, I ſhould predict, that the minds of men will inceſſantly be turned towards hiſtory, an immenſe career, in which philoſophy hath not yet made any advances.

For, in fact, if from that infinite multitude of volumes, we were to tear out the pages beſtowed upon great aſſaſſins, who are called conquerors, or reduce the accounts of them to a few pages, which even they ſcarce deſerve, what would there be remaining? Who is it that hath ſpoken to us of

the climate, of the ſoil, of productions, of quadrupeds, of birds, of fiſh, of plants, of fruits, of minerals, of manners, of cuſtoms, of ſuperſtitions, of prejudices, of ſciences, of arts, of commerce, of government, and of laws? What do we know of a multitude of ancient nations, that can be of the leaſt uſe to modern ones? Both their wiſdom and their folly are equally loſt to us. Their annals never give us any information upon thoſe points which it moſt concerns us to know; upon the true glory of a ſovereign, upon the baſis of the ſtrength of nations, upon the felicity of the people, upon the duration of empires. Let thoſe beautiful addreſſes of a general to his ſoldiers upon the point of action, ſerve as models of eloquence to the rhetorician; there can be no objection to this; but were I to get them by heart, I ſhould neither become more equitable, nor more firm, nor more informed, nor a better man. The time draws near, when reaſon, juſtice, and truth, ſhall ſnatch out of the hands of ignorance and flattery, the pen which they have holden but for too long a time. Tremble, you who delude men with falſehoods, or who make them groan under the yoke of oppreſſion. Sentence is going to be paſſed upon you.

There are but two ſeaſons known in Guinea. The moſt wholeſome, and the moſt agreeable one, begins in April and ends in October. Then it never rains; but thick vapours, which cover the horizon, intercept the rays of the ſun, and moderate the ardour of them; and every night there are dews that fall in ſufficient quantities to keep up the vegetation of plants. During the reſt of the year the heats are exceſſive, and would perhaps be inſupportable, were it not for the rains, which ſucceed each other with great rapidity. Unfortunately, nature hath ſeldom diſpoſed the territory ſo as to favour the running off of theſe waters when too plentiful; and art hath never interfered to aſſiſt nature. Hence the origin of ſo many moraſſes in this part of the globe. They are moſt commonly fatal to ſtrangers, whom their avidity leads into the vicinity of them. The natives of the country, by kindling fires every night near their dwellings, purify the corrupt air, to which they are moreover accuſtomed from their infancy. The little varieties which the north and ſouth of the line may exhibit, do not invalidate the accuracy of theſe obſervations.

FROM the frontiers of the empire of Morocco, as far as Senegal, the land is entirely barren. A long band of the deſerts of Sahara, which extends from the Atlantic ocean as far as Egypt, to the ſouth of all the ſtates of Barbary, occupies this immenſe ſpace. Some Mooriſh families live in the midſt of theſe burning ſands, in a few places where ſprings, which are very ſcarce, have been found, and where it hath been poſſible to plant palm-trees and gather dates. Their chief employment conſiſts in collecting the gums which have attracted the attention of all Europe upon that country. Theſe Moors carry to Upper Guinea, and principally to Bambouk, a great quantity of ſalt, in exchange for which they receive gold, and ſometimes ſlaves. *Nature of the ſoil and coaſt of Guinea.*

The banks of the Niger, Gambia, and Sierra Leone, and thoſe of ſome leſs conſiderable rivers, which flow in that long ſpace that intervenes between theſe principal rivers, would prove extremely fertile if they were cultivated. The care of flocks conſtitutes almoſt the ſole employment of the inhabitants. They are fond of mare's milk, which is their principal nouriſhment; and travel but little, becauſe they have no wants to induce them to leave their country.

The inhabitants of Cape Monte, environed on every ſide by ſands, form a nation entirely ſeparated from the reſt of Africa. In the rice of their marſhes conſiſts all their nouriſhment and their ſole riches. Of this they ſell a ſmall quantity to the Europeans, for which they receive in exchange brandy and hardware.

From the Cape of Palmas to the river Volta, the inhabitants are traders and huſbandmen. They are huſbandmen, becauſe their land, though ſtony, abundantly requites the neceſſary labour and expence of clearing it. They are traders, becauſe they have behind them nations which furniſh them with gold, copper, ivory, and ſlaves; and becauſe nothing obſtructs a continued communication between the people of the inland country and thoſe of the coaſt. It is the ſole country in Africa, where, throughout a long ſpace, there are no deſerts or deep rivers to obſtruct the traveller, and where water and the means of ſubſiſtence may be found.

Between the river of Volta and that of Calbary, the coaſt is flat, fertile, populous and cultivated. The country which extends from Calbary to Gabon is very different. Almoſt totally covered with thick foreſts, producing little fruit and no corn, it may be ſaid to be rather inhabited by wild beaſts than by men. Though the rains be there very frequent and copious, as they muſt be under the equator, the land is ſo ſandy, that immediately after the ſhowers are fallen, there remains not the leaſt appearance of moiſture.

To the ſouth of the line, and as far as Zara, the coaſt preſents an agreeable proſpect. Low at its beginning, it gradually riſes, and exhibits a ſcene of cultivated fields, intermixed with woods always verdant, and of meadows covered with palm-trees.

From Zara to Coanza, and ſtill further, the coaſt is in general high and craggy. In the interior parts of this country is an elevated plain, the ſoil of which is compoſed of a large, thick, and fertile ſand.

Beyond Coanza and the Portugueſe ſettlements, a barren region intervenes, of above two hundred leagues in extent, which is terminated by the country of the Hottentots. In this long ſpace there are no inhabitants known except the Cimbebes, with whom no intercourſe is kept up.

The varieties obſervable on the ſhores of the weſt of Africa do not prevent them from enjoying a very extraordinary, and perhaps a ſingular advantage. On this immenſe coaſt, thoſe tremendous rocks are nowhere ſeen which are ſo alarming to the navigator. The ſea is univerſally calm, and the anchorage ſecure. Were it not for theſe advantages, it would be difficult to remain there, becauſe there are very few harbours, and becauſe the ſhips are obliged to anchor out at ſea on account of the ſand banks, which are almoſt contiguous to each other.

The winds and currents, during ſix months of the year, from April to November, have nearly the ſame direction. To the ſouth of the line, the ſouth eaſt wind predominates, and the direction of the currents is towards the north; and to the north of the line the eaſt wind prevails, and the direction of the currents is towards the north-eaſt. During the ſix other months, ſtorms, by intervals, change the direction of the wind, but it no longer blows with the ſame violence: the ſpring of the air ſeems to be relaxed. The cauſe

of this variation appears to influence the direction of the currents: to the north of the line they tend to the south-weſt, beyond the line to the ſouth.

*Idea of the ſeveral governments eſtabliſhed in Guinea.*

THE revolutions which muſt have happened in the north of Africa, as well as in the other parts of the globe, are entirely unknown, and it was impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe, in a region where the art of writing hath never penetrated. No tradition hath even been preſerved, which might ſerve as a baſis to conjectures well or ill founded. When the people of theſe regions are aſked, why they have ſuffered the remembrance of their father's actions to be buried in oblivion? they anſwer, that it is of little conſequence to be informed in what manner the dead have lived; that the material thing is, that the living ſhould be virtuous. So indifferent are they about the paſt time, that they neglect even to keep an account of their annual revolutions. This would be, ſay they, to load one's memory with a uſeleſs calculation, ſince it would not preſerve us from death, and could not inform us how long we have to live. In ſpeaking, therefore, of this part of the world, we are obliged to count from the epochas of the arrival of the Europeans upon theſe ſhores. We muſt even confine ourſelves to the coaſts, ſince no traveller of any credit hath ever penetrated into the inland parts of the country; and ſince our navigators have ſcarce extended their inquiries beyond the harbours where they took in their cargoes.

All their accounts affirm, that the known parts of this region are ſubject to an arbitrary government. Whether the deſpotic ſovereign aſcend the throne by right of birth or by election, the people have no other law but his will.

But what will ſeem extraordinary to the inhabitants of Europe, where the great number of hereditary monarchies obſtructs the tranquillity of elective governments and the proſperity of all free ſtates, is, that in Africa, the countries which are the leaſt liable to revolutions are thoſe which have preſerved the right of electing their chiefs. This is uſually an old man, whoſe wiſdom is generally known. The manner in which this choice is made is very ſimple; but it is only ſuited to very ſmall ſtates. In three days time, the people, by mutual conſent, meet at the houſe of

that citizen who appears to them the moſt proper perſon to be their ſovereign. If the ſuffrages be divided, he who hath obtained the greateſt number of them, names on the fourth day one of thoſe who have had fewer voices than himſelf. Every freeman hath a right to vote. There are even ſome tribes where the women enjoy this privilege.

Such is, excepting the hereditary kingdoms of Benin and Juda, the manner in which that little group of ſtates, that are to the north of the line, is formed. To the ſouth we meet with Mayumba and Cilingo, where chiefs are elected from among the miniſters of religion; and with the empires of Loango and Congo, where the crown is perpetual in the male line, by the female ſide; that is, the eldeſt ſon of the king's eldeſt ſiſter inherits the throne when it becomes vacant. Theſe people believe that a child is much more certainly the ſon of his mother than of the man whom ſhe marries: they truſt rather to the time of delivery, which they ſee, than to that of conception, of which they are not witneſſes.

Theſe nations live in a total ignorance of that art ſo revered among us, under the name of politics. They do not, however, neglect to obſerve ſome of its formalities. The cuſtom of ſending embaſſies is familiar to them, whether to ſolicit aid againſt a powerful enemy, or to requeſt a mediator in their differences, or to congratulate others upon their ſucceſſes, upon the birth of a child, or upon the falling of a ſhower after a great drought. The envoy muſt never ſtay longer than a day at the place of his miſſion; nor travel during the night in the ſtates of a foreign prince. He is preceded by a drum, which announces from afar his dignity, and he is accompanied by five or ſix friends. In thoſe places where he ſtops to refreſh himſelf, he is received with reſpect; but he cannot depart before the ſun riſes, and without the ceremony of his hoſt aſſembling ſome perſons, to witneſs that no accident hath happened to him. In other reſpects, theſe people are ſtrangers to any negociations that are in the leaſt complicated. They never enter into any ſtipulations for the paſt nor for the future, but confine themſelves wholly to the preſent. Hence we may conclude, that theſe nations cannot have any regular or ſettled connections with the other parts of the globe.

THEIR ſyſtem of war is as little complicated as that of their politics. None of theſe governments retain troops in pay. Every freeman is by condition a ſoldier. All take up arms to guard their frontiers, or to make excurſions in queſt of booty. The officers are choſen by the ſoldiers, and the choice is confirmed by the prince. The army marches, and moſt frequently the hoſtilities, which are begun in the morning, are terminated in the evening. At leaſt, the incurſion never continues for any length of time; for as they have no magazines, the want of ſubſiſtence obliges them to retire. It would prove a great misfortune to theſe people if they were taught the art of keeping the field for a fortnight together. *Manner of making war in Guinea.*

The deſire of extending their territories is not the cauſe of the diſturbances which frequently throw theſe countries into confuſion. An inſult committed in a ceremony, a clandeſtine or violent robbery, the rape of a daughter, theſe are the ordinary occaſions of a war. The day after the battle, each ſide redeems their reſpective priſoners. They are exchanged for merchandize or for ſlaves. No portion of the territority is ever ceded, the whole belongs to the community, whoſe chief fixes the extent which every perſon is to cultivate, in order to reap the fruits of it.

This manner of terminating differences is not merely that of little ſtates, whoſe chiefs are too wiſe to aſpire after enlarging their dominions, and too much advanced in years not to be fond of peace. Great empires are obliged to conform to theſe principles with neighbours much weaker than themſelves. The ſovereign hath never any ſtanding army; and though he diſpoſes at pleaſure of the lives of the governors of the provinces, he preſcribes them no rules of adminiſtration. Theſe are petty princes, who, for fear of being ſuſpected of ambition and puniſhed with death, live in concord with the elective colonies which ſurround them. Unanimity between the more conſiderable powers and the ſmaller ſtates, is preſerved as much by the great authority the prince hath over his ſubjects, as by the impoſſibility there is of his exerting it at pleaſure. He can only ſtrike a ſingle blow, or cauſe a ſingle head to be cut off. He may, indeed, command that his lieutenant ſhould be aſſaſſinated, and the whole province will obey his orders;

but were he to command all the inhabitants of a province to be put to death, he would find no one ready to execute his orders; nor would he be able to excite any other province to take up arms againſt that which diſobeyed him. His power againſt individuals is unlimited; but he can do very little againſt the collective body.

Another reaſon which prevents the ſmall ſtates from being enſlaved by the great ones, is, that theſe people annex no idea to the glory of conqueſts. The only perſon who appears to have been animated with it, was a ſlave broker, who from his infancy had frequented the European veſſels, and who in his riper years had made a voyage to Portugal. Every thing he ſaw and heard fired his imagination, and taught him that a great name was frequently acquired by being the cauſe of great calamities. At his return into his country, he felt himſelf greatly humiliated at being obliged to obey people leſs enlightened than himſelf. His intrigues raiſed him to the dignity of chief of the Acanis, and he prevailed on them to take up arms againſt their neighbours. Nothing could oppoſe his valour, and his dominion extended over more than an hundred leagues of coaſt, of which Anamabou was the centre. At his death no one dared to ſucceed him: and all the ſupports of his authority failing at once, every thing returned to its former ſituation.

*Modes of worſhip eſtabliſhed in Guinea.*

The chriſtian and mohammedan religions ſeem to have taken poſſeſſion of the two extremities of that part of the weſt of Africa which is frequented by the Europeans. The muſſelmen of Barbary have carried their religious ſyſtem to the people of the Cape de Verd iſlands, who have extended it ſtill further. In proportion as theſe religious opinions have been diſtant from their ſource, they have undergone ſo great an alteration, that each kingdom, each village, each family, have maintained a different ſyſtem. Excepting circumciſion, which is univerſal, it would ſcarcely be imagined that theſe people profeſſed the ſame worſhip. This religion does not penetrate beyond the cape of Monte, the inhabitants of which have no communication with their neighbours.

What the Arabs had done to the north of the line for the koran, the Portugueſe afterwards did to the ſouth for

the gospel. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, they established it from the country of Benguela to Zara. A mode of worship, which offered sure and easy means for the expiation of all crimes, was perfectly agreeable to the taste of nations whose religion did not afford them such comfortable prospects. If it was afterwards proscribed in several states, it was owing to the excesses of those who propagated it, which drew upon it this disgrace. It hath even been totally disguised in the countries where it hath been preserved; a few trifling ceremonies are the only remains of it.

The coasts which are in the centre have preserved some local superstitions, the origin of which must be very ancient. They consist in the worship of that innumerable multitude of divinities or fetiches, which every person makes after his own fancy, and for his own use; in the belief of auguries, trials by fire and boiling water, and in the power of Gris-Gris. There are some superstitions more dangerous; I mean that blind confidence which they repose in the priests, who are the ministers and promoters of them. The correspondence which they are supposed to hold with the evil spirit, makes them considered as the arbiters of the barrenness and fertility of the country. On this account the first fruits are always offered to them. All their other errors have a social tendency, and conspire to render men more humane and peaceable.

*Manners, customs, and occupations of the people of Guinea.*

The country is generally ill peopled. Habitations are seldom found anywhere but near rivers, lakes, and fountains. In those countries, men are induced to live in a social state, rather from the ties of consanguinity than from any reciprocal wants. Accordingly, small hamlets are found in the same town, and sometimes in the same village, which are so many families, over which a patriarch presides.

There are no traces to be found in these settlements of any great progress in civilization. The houses are constructed with branches of trees, or with rushes fastened to stakes, which are driven far enough into the ground to resist the winds. Windows are seldom seen in them. The covering of the house consists only of leaves, and, if they can be ob-

tained, of the leaves of the palm-tree, which are more proper than others to bear the inclemency of the ſeaſons. The huts of the capital, thoſe even of the deſpot, are ſcarce diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, except by their extent. Theſe people are not prevented from forming other conſtructions, by a want of the beſt and the fineſt wood, which they poſſeſs in abundance, nor of earth proper to make bricks; but they have never had an idea that it was neceſſary to take ſo much trouble to lodge themſelves.

The furniture is conſiſtent with the dwelling. In the towns, in the country, in the habitation of the prince, as well as that of the meaneſt citizens, it conſiſts only of baſkets, a few earthen pots, and ſome utenſils made out of gourds. The only difference is, that the poor ſleep upon mats, and the rich upon European carpets.

Their food is likewiſe the ſame. Rice, caſſava, maize, yams, or potatoes, according to the nature of the ſoil; wild fruits, palm-wine, game, and fiſh, which all perſons get according to their inclination: ſuch is the food which they all live upon, the ſlaves not excepted.

A girdle tied acroſs their loins, and which we call a *pagne*, is the only clothing of both ſexes. Glaſs beads, which are brought to them, and ſold very dear, compoſe the ornaments of moſt of the women, and of the few men who wiſh to make themſelves remarkable.

The arts are very trifling in theſe regions. None are known but thoſe which are commonly found in a riſing ſociety, and even thoſe are in their infancy. The ingenuity of a carpenter conſiſts only in building huts. The blackſmith hath no other tools than a ſmall hammer and a wooden anvil, to work the iron which is ſent from Europe. The potter makes ſome clumſy veſſels, and ſome pipes of clay, without the aſſiſtance of a mould. The *pagnes* are made only of a plant which grows naturally, and requires no preparation: the length of it conſtitutes the breadth of the piece. The weaver works it upon his lap, without either loom or ſhuttle, by paſſing the tram with his fingers between each of the threads of the chain, in the ſame manner as our baſket-makers make their hurdles. The inhabitants of the country carry ſalt to the moſt diſtant places; and ſeparate it from the ſea water by means of a great fire. The ſlaves, and a ſmall number of free men, are employed in theſe ſe-

dentary labours; the reſt live in a ſtate of habitual indolence. If they ſhould be rouſed from this lethargy by ſome caprice, or by weariſomeneſs, it is only to go a-hunting or a-fiſhing. They never demean themſelves ſo far as to cultivate the ground. Agriculture, conſidered as the meaneſt of occupations, is left to the women, to whom they allow no greater comfort than the liberty of reſting one day after three days of exceſſive fatigue.

The people of Guinea have manners very ſimilar to each other. Polygamy is authoriſed throughout the whole extent of this vaſt region. It muſt, however, be very uncommonly practiſed, ſince all the free men, and moſt of the ſlaves, find companions for themſelves. The young men conſult nothing but their own inclination in their marriage; but their ſiſters muſt have the conſent of their mothers. The marriage tie is generally reſpected; nothing but adultery can diſſolve it, and this is very uncommon. On the coaſt of Angola only, the daughters of the chiefs of the ſtate are allowed to chooſe the huſband they like beſt, even if he ſhould be engaged; they may prevent him from taking another wife; they may be divorced from him when he diſpleaſes them; and may even cauſe his head to be ſtricken off if he be inconſtant. Theſe princeſſes, if they may be ſo called, enjoy their privileges with a diſdainful haughtineſs, and a great deal of ſeverity, as if they meant to be revenged upon the unfortunate man who is under their authority, for the ſpecies of ſlavery to which their ſex is condemned.

Their fate is indeed deplorable. Beſides being employed in the labours of the field, the women are alſo obliged to attend to the domeſtic employments. It reſts upon them alone to provide for the ſubſiſtence, and to ſupply all the wants of their families. They never appear before their huſbands but in a humiliating poſture; they always wait upon him at table, and retire afterwards to feed upon what he either could not or would not eat. This ſtate of labour and humiliation is not confined to the common people; the women in the towns, the wives of the rich, of the great, and even of the ſovereigns, are in the ſame condition; they derive neither comfort nor prerogative from the rank or the opulence of their huſbands.

While they waſte in the ſervice of their tyrants the ſmall proportion of ſtrength beſtowed upon them by nature, theſe barbarians ſpend their uſeleſs days in a ſtate of total inaction. Aſſembled under thick foliages, they paſs their time in ſmoking, ſinging, or dancing. The ſame amuſements are repeated every day; and their pleaſures are never interrupted by diſputes. A decency and propriety prevail in them, which could not reaſonably be expected from a people ſo little enlightened.

Their diſintereſtedneſs is a no leſs ſurpriſing circumſtance. If we except the coaſts, where the example of our robberies hath made them robbers, a great indifference for riches is obſerved in all parts. Even the wiſeſt among them ſeldom think of the morrow; and accordingly, hoſpitality is the virtue univerſally practiſed. The man who ſhould not divide the game or the fiſh he had caught with his neighbours, his relations, and his friends, would draw upon himſelf the public contempt. With them, the reproach of avarice is beyond any other. It is beſtowed upon the Europeans, who give nothing without a compenſation; which induces theſe Africans to call them *cloſe-fiſted.*

Such is the general character of the people of Guinea. It now remains to ſpeak of the cuſtoms which diſtinguiſh the inhabitants of one country from thoſe of another.

On the banks of the Niger, the women are generally handſome, if beauty may be ſaid to conſiſt in ſymmetry of proportion, and not in colour. Modeſt, affable, and faithful, an air of innocence appears in their looks, and their language is an indication of their baſhfulneſs. The names of Zilia, Calypſo, Fanny, Zama, which ſeem to be names of voluptuouſneſs, are pronounced with an inflection of voice, of the ſoftneſs and ſweetneſs of which our organs are not ſuſceptible. The men are of a proper ſize, their ſkin is as black as ebony, and their features and countenances pleaſing. The habit of taming horſes, and hunting wild beaſts, gives them an air of dignity. They do not eaſily put up with an affront; but the example of thoſe animals they have reared, inſpires them with boundleſs gratitude for a maſter who treats them with indulgence. It is impoſſible to find ſervants more attentive, more ſober, and who have ſtronger attachments; but they do not make good huſbandmen;

becauſe their body is not habituated to ſtoop and bend towards the ground, in order to clear it.

The complexion of the Africans degenerates towards the eaſt. The people of this climate are ſtrong, but ſhort. They have an air of ſtrength, which is denoted by firm muſcles; and the features of their faces are ſpread out, but have no expreſſion. The figures impreſſed on their foreheads and on their cheeks increaſe their natural deformity. An ungrateful ſoil, which is not improvable by culture, hath forced them to have recourſe to fiſhing, though the ſea, which they can ſcarce venture upon, on account of a bar that runs along the coaſt, ſeems to divert them from it. Thus repulſed, as it were, by theſe two elements, they have ſought for aid among adjacent nations more favoured by nature; from whom they have derived their ſubſiſtence by ſelling them ſalt. A ſpirit of traffic hath been diffuſed among them ſince the arrival of the Europeans; becauſe ideas are unfolded in all men in proportion to the variety of objects that are preſented to them; and becauſe more combinations are neceſſary to barter a ſlave for ſeveral ſorts of merchandize, than to ſell a buſhel of ſalt. Though they be well adapted to all employments where ſtrength only is required, yet they are unfit for the internal duties of domeſtic life. This condition of life is repugnant to their cuſtoms, according to which they are paid ſeparately for every thing they do. And, indeed, the reciprocation of daily labour and daily recompenſe is, perhaps, one of the beſt incentives to induſtry among all men. The wives of theſe mercantile negroes have neither the amiableneſs, modeſty, diſcretion, nor beauty, of the women of the Niger, and they appear to have leſs ſenſibility. On comparing the two nations, it might, perhaps, be imagined, that the one conſiſted of the loweſt claſs of people in a poliſhed and civilized city, and that the other had enjoyed the advantages of ſuperior education. Their language is a ſtrong indication of their character. The accents of the one have an extreme ſweetneſs, thoſe of the other are harſh and dry, like the ſoil they inhabit. Their vivacity, even in pleaſures, reſembles the furious tranſports of anger.

Beyond the river Volta, in Benin, and in the other countries known under the general name of the Gold coaſt, the people have a ſmooth ſkin, and are of a dark black colour;

their teeth are beautiful; they are of a middling ſtature, but well ſhaped, and have a haughty countenance. Their faces, though agreeable enough, would be much more ſo, if the women were not uſed to ſcar them, and the men to burn their foreheads. The baſis of their creed is a metempſychoſis of a peculiar kind: they believe, that in whatever place they remove to, or wherever they are tranſported, they ſhall return after their death, whether cauſed by the laws of nature, or by their own hands, to their native country. This conviction conſtitutes their happineſs; becauſe they conſider their country as the moſt delightful abode in the univerſe. This pleaſing error conduces to humanize them. Foreigners, who reſide in this climate, are treated with reſpectful civility, from a perſuaſion that they are come there to receive the recompenſe due to their good conduct. Theſe people have a diſpoſition to cheerfulneſs not obſervable in the neighbouring nations; they are inclined to labour, have principles of equity ſeldom altered by circumſtances, and a great facility of adapting themſelves to foreign manners. They are tenacious of their commercial cuſtoms, even when they are not advantageous to them. The method of trafficking with them was, for a long time, the ſame that had been at firſt practiſed among them. The firſt veſſel that arrived diſpoſed of its cargo before another was permitted to trade. Each had its turn. The commodities were ſold at the ſame fixed price to all. It is but very lately that the nation had reſolved to avail itſelf of the advantages it might derive from the competition between the European nations frequenting its ports.

The people ſituated between the line and Zara have all a great reſemblance to each other. They are well made. Their bodies are leſs robuſt than thoſe of the inhabitants to the north of the equator; and though there be ſome marks on their faces, none of thoſe ſcars are to be perceived which are ſo ſhocking at firſt ſight. Their feaſts are accompanied with military ſports, which revive the idea of our ancient tournaments; with this difference, that in Europe they conſtituted the exerciſes of a warlike nation, whereas in Africa they are the amuſements of a timid people. The women are not admitted to theſe public diverſions. Aſſembled together in certain houſes, they ſpend their day in private; and no men are ever admitted into their ſociety.

The pride of rank is the ſtrongeſt paſſion of theſe people, who are naturally peaceable. A certain degree of ceremony obtains both at the court of princes and in private life. Upon the moſt trivial occurrences, they haſten to their friends, either to congratulate them or to condole with them. A marriage occaſions viſiting for three months. The funeral obſequies of a perſon of diſtinction continue ſometimes two years. Thoſe who are related to him in any degree, carry his remains through ſeveral provinces. The crowd gathers as they proceed, and no perſon departs till the corpſe is depoſited in the tomb, with all the demonſtrations of the deepeſt ſorrow. So determined a taſte for ceremony hath proved favourable to ſuperſtition, and ſuperſtition hath promoted a ſpirit of indolence.

From Zara to the river of Coanza, the ancient cuſtoms ſtill remain; but they are blended with a confuſed mixture of European manners, which are not to be found elſewhere. It is probable that the Portugueſe, who have large ſettlements in this country, and who were deſirous of introducing the chriſtian religion among them, had a greater intercourſe with them than other nations, who having only factories to the north of the line, have been entirely engaged in carrying on their commerce.

The reader need not be told, that all we have related concerning the people of Guinea, ought only to be applied to that claſs which, in all countries, ſtamps the character of a nation. The inferior orders and ſlaves are further removed from this reſemblance, in proportion as they are debaſed or degraded by their occupations or their conditions. The moſt diſcerning inquirers have, however, imagined that the difference of conditions did not produce in this people varieties ſo diſtinguiſhable as we find in the ſtates which are ſituated between the Elbe and the Tiber, which exhibit nearly the ſame extent of coaſt as the diſtance between the Niger and the Coanza. The further men depart from nature, the leſs muſt they reſemble one another. Nature is a ſtraight line, from which there are various ways of deviating. The counſels of nature are ſpeedy and tolerably uniform; but the ſuggeſtions ariſing from taſte, from fancy, from caprice, from perſonal intereſt, from circumſtances, from paſſions, from the accidental events of health or ſickneſs, and even from dreams, are ſo numerous and ſo various,

that they are not, neither can they ever be exhauſted. One violent man is ſufficient to lead a thouſand more aſtray, from motives of condeſcenſion, flattery, or imitation. If a woman of rank be deſirous of concealing ſome natural defect, ſhe immediately contrives ſomething for that purpoſe. This is ſoon adopted by her companions, though they have not the ſame reaſon for it. Thus it is, that from one eccentric circle to another, a faſhion is extended, and becomes national. This inſtance is ſufficient to explain an infinite number of ſingularities, which our ſagacity would in vain be tortured in finding out the reaſons of, in the wants, the pains, or pleaſures, of mankind. The diverſity of civil and moral inſtitutions, which often are neither more combined, nor leſs caſual, alſo neceſſarily occaſions a difference in the moral character and in the natural cuſtoms of men, which is unknown to ſocieties leſs complicated. Beſides, nature being more powerful under the torrid than under the temperate zone, does not permit the influence of manners to exert itſelf ſo ſtrongly. Men in theſe countries bear a greater ſimilitude to one another, becauſe they owe every thing to nature, and very little to art. In Europe, an extenſive and diverſified commerce, varying and multiplying the enjoyments, the fortunes, and ſeveral conditions of men, adds likewiſe to the differences which the climate, the laws, and the common prejudices, have eſtabliſhed among active and laborious nations.

*Ancient ſtate of the trade of Guinea.*

In Guinea, trade hath never been able to cauſe a material alteration in the manners of its inhabitants. It formerly conſiſted only of certain exchanges of ſalt and dried fiſh, which were conſumed by the nations remote from the coaſt. Theſe gave in return ſtuffs made of a kind of thread, which was only a woody ſubſtance, cloſely adhering to the inner ſide of the bark of a tree peculiar to theſe climates. The air hardens it, and renders it fit for every kind of weaving. Bonnets, ſcarfs, and aprons to ſerve for girdles, are made of it, which vary in ſhape according to the particular mode of each nation. The natural colour of the thread is a pale grey. The dew, which bleaches our flax, gives it a citron colour, which rich people prefer. The black dye, generally uſed among the people, is extracted

from the bark of the tree of which this thread is made, by ſimple infuſion in water.

The firſt Europeans who frequented the weſtern coaſts of Africa fixed a price on wax, ivory, gum, and wood for dying, which, before that time, had been thought of little value. A ſmall quantity of gold, which had been formerly carried off by caravans from the ſtates of Barbary, was likewiſe given in exchange to their navigators. This gold came from the inland parts, and chiefly from Bambouk, an ariſtocratic ſtate, under the twelfth and thirteenth degrees of north latitude, and where each village was governed by a chief called farim. This rich metal is ſo common in this country, that it is found almoſt indiſcriminately everywhere, merely by ſcraping the ſurface of the earth, which is clayiſh, light, and mixed with ſand. When the mine is very rich, it is digged only to the depth of a few feet, and never deeper; though it hath been obſerved, that the lower it was digged, the more gold it afforded. The people are too indolent to purſue a toil which conſtantly becomes more fatiguing, and too ignorant to prevent the inconveniencies it would be attended with. Their negligence and their folly are ſo extraordinary, that in waſhing the gold, in order to ſeparate it from the earth, they only preſerve the larger pieces: the light parts paſs away with the water, which flows down an inclined plain.

The inhabitants of Bambouk do not work theſe mines at all times, nor are they at liberty to do it when they chooſe. They are obliged to wait till private or public wants determine the farims to grant this permiſſion. When it is proclaimed, all who are able to avail themſelves of this advantage meet at the appointed place. When their work is finiſhed, a diviſion is made. Half of the gold goes to the lord, and the remainder is equally diſtributed among the labourers. Thoſe who want gold at any other time than that of the general digging, ſearch for it in the beds of the torrents, where it is very common.

Several Europeans have endeavoured to penetrate into a region which contains ſo many treaſures. Two or three of them, who had ſucceeded in approaching the coaſt, were unmercifully repulſed. M. David, governor of the French in Senegal, in 1740, thought of ſending a prince of that

country, in order to lay waſte the borders of the Feleme, from whence Bambouk received all its proviſions. This unfortunate country was upon the point of being deſtroyed, in the midſt of its piles of gold, when the author of this calamity propoſed to them, that he would ſend them proviſions from Fort Galam, which was only at forty leagues diſtance, if they would conſent to receive him, and permit his people to work the mines. Theſe conditions were accepted, and the obſervance of them was again ſworn to the author of the propoſal, who went himſelf to thoſe provinces four years after; but the treaty produced no effect. Only the remembrance of the hardſhips that had been endured, and of thoſe that had been apprehended, determined the people to cultivate a ſoil, which had produced, till then, nothing but metals. It ſeems that the gold hath been abandoned, and that the attention of all men hath been turned to the ſlave trade.

*The commerce of Guinea hath been extended by the ſale of ſlaves.*

THE property which ſome men have acquired over others in Guinea, is of very high antiquity. It is generally eſtabliſhed there, excepting in ſome ſmall diſtricts, where liberty hath, as it were, retired, and is ſtill maintained. No proprietor, however, hath a right to ſell a man who is born in a ſtate of ſervitude. He can only diſpoſe of thoſe ſlaves whom he gets either by war, in which every priſoner is a ſlave unleſs exchanged, or in lieu of compenſation for ſome injury; or if he hath received them as a teſtimony of acknowledgment. This law, which ſeems to be made in favour of one who is born a ſlave, to indulge him in the enjoyment of his family, and of his country, is yet ineffectual, ſince the Europeans have eſtabliſhed luxury on the coaſts of Africa. It is every day eluded by concerted quarrels, which two proprietors mutually diſſemble, in order to be reciprocally condemned, each in his turn, to a fine, which is paid in perſons born ſlaves, the diſpoſal of whom is allowed by the ſanction of the ſame law.

Corruption, contrary to its ordinary progreſs, hath advanced from private perſons to princes. The procuring of ſlaves hath given frequent occaſion to wars, as they are ex-

cited in Europe, in order to obtain ſoldiers. The cuſtom has been eſtabliſhed of puniſhing with ſlavery, not only thoſe who have attempted the lives or properties of citizens, but thoſe alſo who were incapable of paying their debts, and thoſe who have violated conjugal faith. This puniſhment, in proceſs of time, has been inflicted for the moſt trivial offences, after having been at firſt reſerved only for the greateſt crimes. Prohibitions, even of things indifferent, have been conſtantly multiplied, in order to increaſe the revenues raiſed from the fines, by increaſing the number of offences. Injuſtice hath known no bounds or reſtraints. At a great diſtance from the coaſt there are chiefs, who give orders for every thing they meet with in the villages around them to be carried off. The children are thrown into ſacks; the men and women are gagged to ſtifle their cries. If the ravagers ſhould be ſtopped by a ſuperior force, they are conducted before the prince, who always diſowns the commiſſion he hath given, and, under pretence of doing juſtice, inſtantly ſells his agents to the ſhips he hath treated with.

Notwithſtanding theſe infamous arts, the people of the coaſt have found it impoſſible to ſupply the demands of the merchants. They have experienced what every nation muſt, that can trade only with its ſpecies. Slaves are to the commerce of the Europeans in Africa, what gold is in the commerce we carry on in the New World. The heads of the negroes repreſent the ſpecie of the ſtate of Guinea. Every day this ſpecie is carried off, and nothing is left them but articles of conſumption. Their capital gradually vaniſhes, becauſe it cannot be renewed, by reaſon of the ſpeedy conſumptions. Thus the trade for blacks would long ſince have been entirely loſt, if the inhabitants of the coaſts had not imparted their luxury to the people of the inland countries, from whence they now draw the greateſt part of the ſlaves that are put into our hands. Thus the trade of the Europeans, by gradual advances, hath almoſt exhauſted the only vendible commodities of this nation.

In the ſpace of twenty years this circumſtance hath raiſed the price of ſlaves almoſt to four times above the former coſt. The reaſon is this: the ſlaves are chiefly paid for in merchandize from the Eaſt Indies, which hath doubled its

value in Europe. A double quantity of theſe goods muſt be given in Africa. Thus the colonies of America, where the ſale for blacks is concluded, are obliged to ſupport theſe ſeveral augmentations, and conſequently to pay four times more than they formerly did.

Notwithſtanding this, the diſtant proprietor who ſells his ſlave, receives a leſs quantity of merchandize than the perſon received fifty years ago, who ſold his ſlave in the neighbourhood of the coaſt. The profits intercepted by paſſing through different hands, the expences of tranſport, the impoſts, ſometimes of three per cent. that muſt be paid to thoſe princes through whoſe territories they paſs, ſink the difference betwixt the ſum which the firſt proprietor receives, and that which the European trader pays. Theſe expences continually increaſe on account of the great diſtances of the places where there are ſtill ſlaves to be ſold. The farther off the firſt ſale is, the greater will be the difficulties attending the journey. They will become ſuch, that of the ſum which the European merchant will be able to pay, there will remain ſo little to offer to the firſt ſeller, that he will rather chooſe to keep his ſlave. All trade of this kind will then be at an end. In order, therefore, to ſupport it effectually, our traders muſt furniſh at an exorbitant price, and ſell in proportion to the colonies; which, on their part, not being able to diſpoſe of their produce but at a very advanced price, will no longer find a conſumption for it. But till that time comes, which is, perhaps, not ſo diſtant as the coloniſts may imagine, they will, without the leaſt remorſe, continue to make the lives and labours of the negroes ſubſervient to their intereſts. They will find navigators who will hazard the purchaſing of them, and theſe will meet with tyrants who will ſell them.

Slave merchants collect themſelves into companies, and forming a ſpecies of caravans, in the ſpace of two or three hundred leagues they conduct ſeveral files of thirty or forty ſlaves, all laden with water or corn, which are neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence in thoſe barren deſerts through which they paſs. The manner of ſecuring them without much incommoding their march, is ingeniouſly contrived. A fork of wood, from eight to nine feet long, is put round the neck of each ſlave. A pin of iron, rivetted, ſecures the fork at

the back part in ſuch a manner that the head cannot diſengage itſelf. The handle of the fork, the wood of which is very heavy, falls before, and ſo embarraſſes the perſon who is tied to it, that though he hath his arms and legs at liberty, he can neither walk, nor lift up the fork. When they get ready for their march, they range the ſlaves on the ſame line, and ſupport and tie the extremity of each fork on the ſhoulder of the foremoſt ſlave, and proceed in this manner from one to another, till they come to the firſt, the extremity of whoſe fork is carried by one of the guides. Few reſtraints are impoſed that are not felt by the perſons who impoſe them. In order that theſe traders may enjoy the refreſhment of ſleep without uneaſineſs, they tie the arms of every ſlave to the tail of the fork which he carries. In this condition he can neither run away, nor make any attempt to recover his liberty. Theſe precautions have been found indiſpenſable, becauſe if the ſlave can but break his chain, he becomes free. The public faith, which ſecures to the proprietor the poſſeſſion of his ſlave, and which at all times delivers him up into his hands, is ſilent with regard to a ſlave and a trader who exerciſes the moſt contemptible of all profeſſions.

Reader, while thou art peruſing this horrid account, is not thy ſoul filled with the ſame indignation as I experience in writing it? Doſt thou not, in imagination, ruſh with fury upon thoſe infamous conductors? Doſt thou not break thoſe forks with which theſe unfortunate people are confined? and doſt thou not reſtore them to their liberty?

Great numbers of ſlaves arrive together, eſpecially when they come from diſtant countries. This arrangement is neceſſary, in order to diminiſh the expence which is unavoidable in conducting them. The interval between one journey and another, which by this ſyſtem of economy is already made too diſtant, may become ſtill greater by particular circumſtances. The moſt uſual are the rains, which cauſe the rivers to overflow, and put a ſtop to this trade. The ſeaſon moſt favourable for travelling in the interior parts of Africa, is from February to September; and it is from September to March that the return of theſe ſlave traders produces the greateſt plenty of this traffic on the coaſts.

*Account of the coaſts where foreign navigators land in ſearch of ſlaves.*

THE trade of the Europeans is carried on to the ſouth and north of the line. The firſt coaſt begins at Cape Blanco: very near this are Arguin and Portendic. The Portugueſe diſcovered them in 1444, and ſettled there the next year. They were deprived of them in 1638 by the Dutch, who, in their turn, ceded them to the Engliſh in 1666, from whom they recovered them ſome months after. Lewis XIV again drove them away in the beginning of 1678, and contented himſelf with having the works deſtroyed.

At this period, Frederic William, that great elector of Brandenburg, was meditating upon the means of improving his dominions, which till then had been inceſſantly ruined by wars, which were ſeldom interrupted. Some Dutch merchants, diſcontented with the monopoly which excluded them from the weſtern parts of Africa, perſuaded him to build forts in this immenſe diſtrict, and to have ſlaves purchaſed there, which would be ſold to advantage in the New World. This ſcheme was thought to be uſeful, and the company formed to carry it on obtained, in 1682, three ſettlements on the Gold coaſt, and one in the iſland of Arguin three years afterwards. This new body was ſucceſſively ruined by the oppoſitions of the rival nations, by the unfaithfulneſs or the inexperience of its agents, and by the depredations of the pirates. As nothing but the name of them was remaining, the king of Pruſſia ſold, in 1717, to the Dutch company, poſſeſſions which had been long uſeleſs to him. Theſe republicans had not yet taken poſſeſſion of Arguin, when it was again attacked in 1721, and taken, by the orders of the court of Verſailles, who had been maintained in that conqueſt by the treaty of Nimeguen. The Dutch ſoon after planted their flag there, but were obliged to take it down again in 1724.

From that period to 1763, France remained in quiet poſſeſſion of theſe forts. The Britiſh miniſtry, who had required the ſacrifice of the Niger, inſiſted, beſides, that they ſhould be dependent upon it. This pretenſion does not appear to us to be well founded. It is only neceſſary to ſee the grants made to the ſocieties which have ſucceſſively exerciſed the monopoly in Senegal, to be convinced that Arguin and Portendic were never comprehended in

their charter. England, however, doth not permit the French, nor other navigators, to approach theſe latitudes; even its own ſubjects go there no more, ſince thoſe precious gums, from which they have acquired ſome importance, have been conveyed by the Niger.

This river, which is more commonly called Senegal, is very conſiderable, is reckoned by ſome geographers to have more than eight hundred leagues of extent. It hath been proved, that from June to November, it is navigable throughout a ſpace of three hundred and twenty leagues. The bar which runs acroſs the mouth of the river prohibits the entrance of it to all ſhips which draw more than eight or nine feet of water. The other ſhips are obliged to caſt anchor very near this ſpot, in an exceeding good bottom. Their cargoes are brought to them in light veſſels from Fort St. Lewis, which is built in a ſmall iſland near the ſea. They conſiſt only of the gums which have been collected during the year, and of twelve or fifteen hundred ſlaves. The gums are ſent from the left ſhore, and the ſlaves from the right, which is the only one that can be ſaid to be peopled, ſince the tyrants of Morocco have extended their ferocious ſway to theſe regions.

Since the peace of 1763 hath aſſured to Great Britain the poſſeſſion of Senegal, the conqueſt of which was made by its navy during the courſe of the war, the French are confined to the coaſt which begins at Cape Blanco, and terminates at the river Gambia. Although they have not been diſturbed in the claim they have to the right of an excluſive trade through that immenſe ſpace, yet they have ſcarcely received annually from their factories of Zoal, Portudal, and Albreda, three or four hundred ſlaves. Goree, which is only a league diſtant from the continent, and which is no more than four hundred toiſes in length, and one hundred in breadth, is the chief of theſe wretched ſettlements. During the hoſtilities begun in 1756, this iſland, which hath a good harbour, and which may be eaſily defended, fell into the hands of the Engliſh; but the ſubſequent treaties reſtored it to its ancient maſters.

Till the year 1772, this country had been open to all the traders of the nation. At this period, a reſtleſs and turbulent man perſuaded ſome credulous citizens, that it would be an eaſy matter to get to Bambouk, and to other mines

of equal wealth. An ignorant adminiſtration encouraged the illuſion, by granting an excluſive privilege; and conſiderable ſums were expended in purſuit of this chimerical proſpect. The direction of this monopoly, two years after, paſſed into the hands of more prudent men, who confined themſelves to the purchaſe of the ſlaves that are to be brought to Cayenne, where the company have obtained an immenſe territory.

The river Gambia would be navigable for the ſpace of two hundred leagues for veſſels of a conſiderable ſize; but they all ſtop at the diſtance of eight or ten leagues from the mouth of that river at Fort James. This ſettlement, which hath been conquered, ranſomed, and pillaged, ſeven or eight times in the courſe of a century, is ſituated in an iſland, which is not a mile in circumference. The Engliſh trade annually there for three thouſand ſlaves, which come moſtly, as at Senegal, from very diſtant and inland countries.

The ten Cape de Verd iſlands, at no great diſtance from the ſhores, and of which Sant Yago is the principal, were diſcovered by the Portugueſe about the year 1449. This ſmall archipelago, which, though much divided, hilly, and not well watered, would be able to furniſh all the productions of the New World, ſcarce ſupplies ſufficient ſubſiſtence to the few negroes, moſt of them free, who have eſcaped from a ſyſtem of tyranny continued for four centuries. The weight of the fetters which oppreſs them was rendered ſtill more burdenſome, when they were put under the power of a company which had the excluſive right both of ſupplying all their wants, and of purchaſing the commodities they had to ſell. Accordingly, the exports of that ſoil, though of tolerable extent, were reduced for Europe to the plant known by the name of perella, which is made uſe of in dying ſcarlet; to a few oxen and mules for America, and for that part of Africa which is ſubject to the court of Liſbon; to a ſmall quantity of ſugar, and to ſeveral pagnes of cotton. The fate of this unfortunate country was not to be altered. No one could appeal in its favour, while, from the general to the ſoldier, from the biſhop to the curate, every man was in the pay of the company, which was at length aboliſhed.

Several Portugueſe, who had gone to the Cape de Verd iſlands, ſoon arrived upon the banks of the river of Caſamance and Cacheo, and upon the largeſt of the Biſſagos iſlands. Their deſcendants degenerated ſo much in proceſs of time, that they ſcarce differed from the natives. They have always preſerved, however, the ambition of conſidering themſelves as ſovereigns of the country, where they had built three villages and two ſmall forts. The rival nations have paid very little reſpect to this pretenſion, and have diſcontinued to trade in competition with the veſſels arrived from the Cape de Verd iſlands, from the Brazils, and from Liſbon.

Serre-Leone is not under the Britiſh dominion, although the ſubjects of that power have concentrated almoſt all the commercial tranſactions in two private factories, very anciently eſtabliſhed. Excluſive of the wax, ivory and gold, which are found there, they receive annually four or five thouſand ſlaves either from this or from the neighbouring rivers.

Next to this mart we meet with the Grain coaſt, and the Ivory coaſt, which occupy the ſpace of one hundred and fifty leagues. Rice, ivory, and ſlaves, are purchaſed there. The navigators, form temporary factories upon ſome of theſe coaſts, moſt frequently wait at anchor till the blacks come of their own accord, upon their canoes, to propoſe the things they mean to barter. It is ſaid, that this cuſtom hath been eſtabliſhed, ſince repeated acts of ferociouſneſs have evinced the danger of diſembarking.

The Engliſh ſince formed a ſettlement at the Cape of Apolonia, where the ſlave trade is conſiderable; but they have not yet obtained an excluſive commerce, which they wiſhed for, and which, perhaps, they flattered themſelves they ſhould obtain.

After Cape Apolonia begins the Gold coaſt, which terminates at the river Volta. It is one hundred and thirty leagues in extent. As the country is divided into a great many ſmall ſtates, and as the inhabitants are the moſt robuſt men of Guinea, the factories of the commercial nations of Europe have been exceedingly multiplied here. Five of them belong to the Danes; twelve or thirteen, of which St. George de la Mina is the capital, belong to the Dutch; and the Engliſh have conquered, or formed, nine or ten of

them, the chief of which is Cape Corſo. The French, who ſaw themſelves, with regret, excluded from a region abounding in ſlaves, attempted, in 1749, to appropriate Anamabou to themſelves. They were fortifying themſelves in it, with the conſent of the natives of the country, when their workmen were driven away by the cannon of the ſhips of Great Britain. An able merchant, who was then at London, upon the news of this outrage, expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at a conduct ſo imprudent. *Sir*, ſaid a miniſter to him, who was in great favour with this enlightened people, *if we were to be juſt to the French, we ſhould not exiſt thirty years longer.* At this period the Engliſh formed a firm eſtabliſhment at Anamabou, and ſince that time they have never ſuffered any competitor in this important market.

At the diſtance of eight leagues from the river Volta is Kela, which abounds in articles of ſubſiſtence. There it is that the navigators go to ſupply themſelves with proviſions; and from thence it is that they ſend their canoes, or boats, in ſearch of proper places to eſtabliſh their trade in.

The little Popo often attracts them. The Engliſh and the French frequent this latitude; but the Portugueſe reſort there in ſtill greater numbers, for the following reaſon:

The people who formerly held the ſway in Africa, were reduced, in proceſs of time, to ſuch a ſtate of weakneſs, that, in order to preſerve the liberty of trading on the Gold coaſt, they agreed to pay the tenth of their cargoes to the Dutch. This ſhameful tribute, which hath always been paid regularly, was ſo diſadvantageous to the privateers of Bahia and of Fernambucca, the only ones that frequent that coaſt, that they agreed among themſelves, that no more than one veſſel of each of theſe two provinces ſhould ever be in any port. The reſt remain at little Popo, till their turn for trading comes about.

Juida, at fourteen leagues diſtance from the little Popo, is famous for the number and the quality of the ſlaves which come from thence. It is open only to the Engliſh, the French, and the Portugueſe. Each of theſe nations hath a fort there, built in the iſland of Gregoi, two miles from the ſhore. The chiefs of theſe factories undertake, every year, a journey of thirty leagues, in order to carry to the ſovereign of the country preſents, which he receives, and requires as an homage.

At the distance of eight leagues from Juida, is Epee; where there are sometimes a great many slaves, but most commonly none. Accordingly, this harbour is frequently void of ships.

A little beyond this is Porto Novo. The trade, which in other places is settled on the sea-coast, is carried on here in the inland parts, at seven leagues from the shore. This inconvenience made it languid for a long time, but it is now very considerable. The passion for the tobacco of Brazil, which is still more prevailing at this place than in any other part of the coast, gives a considerable superiority to the Portuguese. The English and French are obliged to form their cargoes from the refuse of theirs.

Badagry is only at three leagues distance from Porto Novo. A great many slaves are brought there. At the time when all nations were admitted, the navigators could only make their purchases, and dispose of their cargoes, one after the other; but since the English and the Dutch are secluded, the French and the Portuguese are allowed to trade in competition, because their merchandizes are very different. This is the part of the coast the most frequented by French privateers.

Ahoni, which is separated from Badagry by an interval of fourteen or fifteen leagues, is situated in the islands of Curamo, in a difficult, marshy, and unhealthy port. This mart is principally, almost exclusively indeed, frequented by the English, who come there in large sloops, and carry on their trade between the islands and the neighbouring continent.

From the river Volta to this archipelago, the coast is inaccessible. A sand bank, against which the waves of the sea break with great violence, obliges the navigators, who are attracted to these latitudes by the hopes of gain, to make use of Indian boats, and of the natives of the country, to land their cargoes, and to bring back the goods they receive in exchange. Their vessels are safely anchored upon an exceeding good bottom, at the distance of three or four leagues from the coast.

The river of Benin, which abounds in ivory and in slaves, receives some ships. Its trade is fallen almost entirely into the hands of the English. The French and the Dutch

have been diſguſted with the character of the natives, who are indeed leſs ſavage than thoſe of the neighbouring countries, but ſo extremely capricious, that it is never known what kind of merchandize they will chooſe to accept in exchange.

After Cape Formoſa, are the Old and the New Calbary. The coaſt is low, under water for ſix months in the year, and very unwholeſome. All the water is tainted; ſhipwrecks are frequent there, and whole crews are ſometimes the victims of the intemperance of the climate. Theſe various calamities have not been able to prevent the navigators of Great Britain from frequenting theſe dangerous latitudes. They purchaſe there, every year, ſeven or eight thouſand blacks, but at a very low price. The French, who formerly ſeldom reſorted to theſe marts, now begin to land there in greater numbers. The ſhips, which draw above twelve feet water, are obliged to caſt anchor near the iſland of Panis, where the chief of theſe barbarous countries reſides, and where he hath drawn a conſiderable trade.

Trade is much more briſk on the Gabon. This is a large river, which waters an immenſe plain, and which, together with ſeveral other leſs conſiderable rivers, forms a multitude of iſlands, more or leſs extenſive, which are each of them governed by a ſeparate chief. There is ſcarce any country more plentiful, more ſunk under water, or more unwholeſome. The French, more volatile than enterpriſing, ſeldom go there, notwithſtanding their wants. The Portugueſe of Princes and St. Thomas iſlands ſend only a few ſloops. The Dutch export from thence ivory, wax, and woods for dying. The Engliſh buy up almoſt all the ſlaves which the petty nations, that are perpetually intent upon each other's deſtruction, make of the priſoners taken on both ſides, in the wars carried on between them. There is no conſiderable ſtaple where the exchanges are made. The Europeans are obliged to penetrate, with their boats, to the extent of fifty or ſixty leagues, in theſe infectious moraſſes. This cuſtom prolongs the trade exceſſively, it is deſtructive to an infinite number of ſailors, and occaſions ſome murders. Theſe calamities would ceaſe, if a general mart were eſtabliſhed in Parrot iſland, ſituated at the diſtance of ten leagues from the mouth of the Gabon, and where ſhips of a tolerable ſize can land. The Engliſh

attempted it, undoubtedly with a view of fortifying themſelves there, and in hopes of obtaining an excluſive trade. Their agent was murdered in 1769, and matters have remained as they were before.

It muſt be obſerved, that the ſlaves which come from Benin, from Calbary, and from Gabon, are very inferior to thoſe which are bought elſewhere. They are therefore ſold as much as poſſible to the foreign colonies by the Engliſh, who frequent theſe indifferent markets more than any other nation. Such is the ſtate of things to the north of the line.

On the ſouth, the markets are much leſs numerous, but generally more conſiderable. The firſt that preſents itſelf, after Cape de Lopo, is Mayumba. Till the ſhips arrive at this harbour, the ſea is too rough to admit approaching the land. A bay, which is two leagues over at its mouth, and one league in depth, affords a ſafe aſylum to the veſſels that are impeded by the calms and the currents, which are frequent in thoſe latitudes. The landing is eaſy near a river. It may be imagined, that the deſerts of a climate, too full of moraſſes, hath been the only reaſon that hath kept the Europeans, and conſequently the Africans, away. If from time to time a few captives are ſold there, they are purchaſed by the Engliſh and by the Dutch, who go there regularly to take in cargoes of a kind of red wood, that is employed in dying.

At Cape Segundo is found another bay, which is very healthy, more ſpacious, and more commodious, than even that of Mayumba, and in which water and wood may be obtained with eaſe and ſecurity. All theſe advantages muſt undoubtedly have drawn a conſiderable trade there, if the time and the expences which are requiſite to reach to the extremity of a long ſlip of land, had not diſguſted the ſlave merchants of it.

They have preferred Loango, where they anchor at eight or nine toiſes diſtance from the river, in three or four fathom water, upon a muddy bottom. Such is the agitation of the ſea, that it is impoſſible to land on the coaſt, except upon Indian boats. The European factories are at a league's diſtance from the town, upon an eminence, which is conſidered as very unwholeſome. This is the reaſon why, notwithſtanding the blacks are cheaper there than any

where elſe, and the natives are leſs difficult about the quality of the merchandize, yet the navigators ſeldom land at Loango, except when the competition is too great in the other ports.

At Molembo, the veſſels are obliged to ſtop at one league's diſtance from the ſhore; and the boats, in order to land, muſt clear a bar that is rather dangerous. The tranſactions are carried on upon a very agreeable mountain, but very difficult of acceſs. The ſlaves are here in greater number, and of ſuperior quality to thoſe upon the reſt of the coaſt.

The bay of Gabinda is ſafe and commodious. The ſea is ſmooth enough to admit of refitting the veſſels in caſe of neceſſity. Anchor is caſt at the foot of the houſes, and the buſineſs is tranſacted at the diſtance of one hundred and fifty paces from the ſhore.

It hath long been ſaid, and it cannot be too often repeated, that the climate is exceedingly deſtructive in theſe three ports, and eſpecially at Loango. Let us endeavour to find out the reaſons of this calamity, and let us ſee whether it may not be remedied.

The graſs which grows on the coaſt is almoſt always four or five feet high, and receives abundant dews during the night. The Europeans who croſs theſe fields in the morning are ſeized with violent, and frequently fatal, colics, unleſs the natural heat of the inteſtines, which are probably chilled by the impreſſion of this dew, be reſtored without delay by brandy. Would not this danger be avoided, by keeping away from this graſs till the ſun ſhould have diſſipated the kind of venom that had fallen upon it?

The ſea is unwholeſome in theſe latitudes. Its waves, of a yellowiſh caſt, and which are covered with whales blubber, muſt obſtruct the pores of the ſkin in thoſe who bathe in it, and check their perſpiration. This is probably the cauſe of the burning fevers which carry off ſuch a prodigious number of ſailors. In order to prevent theſe deſtructive maladies, it would perhaps be ſufficient to employ the natives of the country in all the ſervices that cannot be done without entering into the water.

In that country, the days are exceſſively hot, the nights damp and cold, which is a dangerous alternative. The inconveniences of it might be avoided by lighting fires in

the bed chambers. This precaution would make the two extremes leſs ſenſible, and would produce the neceſſary degree of temperature for a man who is aſleep, and who cannot put on additional coverings in proportion as the cold of the night increaſes.

Inaction and wearifomeneſs are fatal to the crews of ſhips that are commonly detained four or five months on the coaſt. This double inconvenience would be removed, if a third of them were conſtantly employed alternately on land, in thoſe trifling labours which are improperly thrown upon the negroes, and which would occupy without fatiguing them.

It will perhaps be ſaid, that we are for ever attending to the preſervation of man. But what object is there which ought more ſeriouſly to engage our thoughts? Is it gold, or ſilver, or precious ſtones? Some perſon of an atrocious diſpoſition might imagine it. Should he dare to avow ſuch a ſentiment in my preſence, I would ſay to him, I know not who thou art; but nature had formed thee to be a deſpot, a conqueror, or an executioner; for ſhe hath diveſted thee of all kind of benevolence towards thy fellow creature. If we ſhould happen to miſtake with regard to the means we propoſe for their preſervation, we ſhall be happy to find them cenſured, and to have ſome more effectual means ſuggeſted.

Our confidence, however, in the advice we have juſt been giving, is the more confirmed, as it is founded upon experiments made by one of the moſt intelligent ſeamen we have ever known. This able man loſt only one ſailor during a twelvemonth's ſtay at Loango itſelf; and even that ſailor had infringed the orders that were given.

A very ſingular cuſtom is generally obſerved in the country of Angola; and the people are equally ignorant of its origin and of its tendency. The kings of thoſe provinces are not allowed to have in their poſſeſſion, nor even to touch, any European goods, except metals, arms, and carved wood or ivory. It is probable that ſome of their predeceſſors have ſubmitted to this ſelf-denial, in order to diminiſh the inordinate deſire of their ſubjects for foreign merchandize. If this was the motive of that inſtitution, the ſucceſs hath not anſwered the expectation. The loweſt claſſes of men intoxicate themſelves with our liquors whenever they have the

means of purchasing of them; and the wealthy, the great, and even the ministers, generally clothe themselves with our linens and our stuffs. They take care only to quit these dresses when they go to court, where it is not allowed to display a luxury prohibited to the despot alone.

There is no other landing place from the last port we have mentioned till we come to the Zaire. The river Ambris is at no great distance from this; it receives a few small vessels sent from Europe itself. More considerable ships, which arrive at Loango, at Molembo, and at Gabinda, likewise send some boats there occasionally to trade for negroes, and to shorten their stay on the coast; but the traders who are settled there do not always allow this competition.

These difficulties are not to be apprehended at Mossula, where no ships can enter. The English, the French, and the Dutch, who carry on their trade in the most important harbours, send their sloops freely there, which seldom return without a few slaves, purchased at a more reasonable price than in the larger markets.

After Mossula, the Portuguese possessions begin, which extend along the coast from the eighth to the eighteenth degree of south latitude, and sometimes as far as a hundred leagues in the inland parts. This great space is divided into many provinces, the several districts of which are governed by chiefs, who are all tributary to Lisbon. Seven or eight feeble corps, of ten or twelve soldiers each, are sufficient to keep these people in subjection. These negroes are supposed to be free, but the slightest misdemeanour plunges them into servitude. Plentiful mines of iron, superior in quality to any that has been found in any other part of the globe, have been discovered a few years since in the midst of these forests, in a place which hath been called the New Oeiras. The count de Souza, at that time governor of this district, and at present ambassador at the court of Spain, caused them to be worked; but they have been forsaken since the mother country hath passed from the yoke of tyranny under that of superstition. This active commandant likewise extended the frontiers of the empire under his command. His ambition was, to reach as far as the rich mines of Monomopata, and to pave the way for his

ſucceſſors to purſue their conqueſts as far as the territory which his nation is in poſſeſſion of in the Mozambique.

We leave it to others to judge of the poſſibility or the fanciſulneſs, the inutility or the importance, of this communication. We will only obſerve, that the firſt Portugueſe ſettlement, near the ocean is Bamba, the chief buſineſs of which conſiſts in furniſhing the woods which may be wanted at St. Paul de Loanda.

This capital of the Portugueſe ſettlements in Africa hath a tolerably good harbour. It is formed by a ſandy iſland, and protected at its entrance, which is very narrow, by regular fortifications, and defended by a garriſon, which would be ſufficient, did it not conſiſt of officers and ſoldiers, moſt of whom are branded by the laws, or are at leaſt exiles. The population of the town conſiſts of ſeven or eight hundred white men, and of about three thouſand negroes, or free mulattoes.

St. Philip de Benguela, which belongs to the ſame nation hath but one harbour, where the ſea is often very rough. The town, much leſs conſiderable than St. Paul, is covered by an indifferent fort, which would eaſily be reduced to aſhes by the guns of the ſhips. No very obſtinate reſiſtance would be made by two or three hundred Africans who guard, and who, even at St. Pauls, are moſt of them diſtributed in poſts, at ſome diſtance from one another.

At ten leagues beyond St. Philips, we find another Portugueſe ſettlement, where numerous flocks are bred, and where the ſalt is gathered that is neceſſary for the people ſubject to that crown. The ſettlements and trade of the Europeans do not extend upon the weſtern coaſt of Africa.

The Portugueſe veſſels which frequent theſe latitudes all repair to St. Pauls or to St. Philips. They purchaſe a greater number of ſlaves in the firſt of theſe markets, and in the latter, ſlaves that are more robuſt. Theſe ſhips are not in general diſpatched from the mother-country, but from the Brazils, and almoſt ſolely from Rio de Janeiro. As the Portugueſe have an excluſive privilege, they pay leſs for theſe unfortunate blacks than they are ſold for anywhere elſe. It is with tobacco, and with cowries, which they get upon the ſpot itſelf, as well as the tobacco, that they pay

upon the Gold coaſt; and upon the coaſt of Angola they give in exchange ſome tobacco, rums, and coarſe linens.

*In what number, at what price, and with what merchandize, the ſlaves are purchaſed.*

In the early times, after the diſcovery of the weſtern Africa, the population of that immenſe portion of the globe did not ſenſibly decreaſe. Its inhabitants were not at that time employed; but, in proportion as the conqueſts and the cultivations were increaſed in America, more ſlaves were required; this want hath gradually increaſed; and ſince the peace of 1763, eighty thouſand of theſe wretched inhabitants have been carried off from Guinea every year: theſe unfortunate men have not all arrived in the New World. According to the natural courſe of things, about one-eighth part of them muſt have periſhed in the paſſage. Two thirds of theſe deplorable victims of our avarice have come from the north, and the remainder from the ſouth of the line.

They were originally purchaſed everywhere at a very cheap rate. Their value hath gradually increaſed, and in a more remarkable manner, during the courſe of the laſt fifteen years. In 1777, a French merchant ſent to purchaſe one hundred and fifty of them at Molembo, which coſt him, one with another, 583 livres 18 ſols 10 deniers, [about 24l. 6s. 5½d.] beſide the expences of fitting out. At the ſame period he ſent for 521 at Porto Novo, which he obtained for 460 livres 10 deniers [about 19l. 3s. 4½d.]

This difference in the price, which may be conſidered as habitual, is not to be attributed to the inferiority of the ſlaves from the north; they are, on the contrary, ſtronger, more laborious, and more intelligent, than thoſe from the ſouth; but the coaſt from which they are brought is leſs convenient, and more dangerous; they are not always to be found there, and the privateer runs the riſk of loſing the profits of the voyage; it is neceſſary to put in at Princes, and St. Thomas iſlands, in order to procure water for them; beſides, that ſeveral of them periſh in the paſſage, which is delayed by contrary winds, calms, and currents; and that their diſpoſition inclines them to deſpair and to rebellion. All theſe reaſons muſt render them cheaper in

Africa, though they be ſold for ſomething more in the New World.

Suppoſing that fourſcore thouſand blacks have been purchaſed in 1777, and all of them at the prices we have mentioned, the amount of the whole will be 41,759,333 livres 6 ſols 8 deniers [about 1,739,970l. 4s. 5½d.] ; which the African coaſts will have obtained for the moſt horrid of all ſacrifices.

The ſlave merchant doth not receive this entire ſum. Part of it is abſorbed by the taxes required by the ſovereigns of the ports in which the trade is carried on. An agent of the government, whoſe buſineſs it is to maintain order, hath likewiſe his demands. Intermediate perſons are employed between the buyer and the ſeller, whoſe interpoſition is become dearer, in proportion to the increaſe of the competition between the European navigators, and to the diminution of the number of the blacks. Theſe expences, foreign to the trade, are not exactly the ſame in all the markets; but they do not experience any important variations, and are too conſiderable everywhere.

Theſe ſlaves are not paid for with metals, but with our productions, and with our merchandize. All nations, except the Portugueſe, give nearly things of the ſame value. They conſiſt of broad ſwords, firelocks, gunpowder, iron, brandy, toys, carpets, glaſs, woollen ſtuffs, and eſpecially Eaſt-India linens, or ſuch as are manufactured and printed in imitation of them in Europe. The people to the north of the line have adopted for their coin a ſmall white ſhell, which we bring to them from the Maldives. The trade of the Europeans on the ſouth of the line, hath not this object of exchange. The coin is repreſented there by a ſmall piece of ſtraw ſtuff, eighteen inches in length, and twelve in breadth, which is current for five ſols [2½d.] of France.

*Who are the people who purchaſe ſlaves.*

THE European nations have thought that it would be of uſe to their trade to have ſettlements in the weſtern part of Africa. The Portugueſe, who, according to the generally-received opinion, arrived there the firſt, carried on the ſlave trade for a long while without any competitors, becauſe they alone had eſtabliſhed cultures in America. From

a concurrence of unfortunate circumſtances, they were ſubdued by Spain, and attacked in every part of the world by the Dutch, who had diſengaged themſelves from the fetters under which they were oppreſſed. The new republicans triumphed, without any extraordinary exertions, over an enſlaved people, and more eſpecially on the coaſt of Guinea, where no means of defence had been prepared. But no ſooner had the court of Liſbon recovered their independency, than they were deſirous of reconquering thoſe poſſeſſions, of which they had been deprived during their ſtate of ſlavery. Their navigators were encouraged by their ſucceſſes in the Brazils to ſail towards Africa. Though they did not ſucceed in reſtoring to their country all its ancient rights, they recovered at leaſt, in 1648, the country of Angola, which hath remained ever ſince under its dominion. A few iſlands, more or leſs conſiderable, in theſe immenſe ſeas, belong likewiſe to Portugal. Such are the remains of the empire which the court of Liſbon had eſtabliſhed, and which extended from Ceuta to the Red ſea.

The Dutch gave up their ſhare of theſe rich ſpoils to the Weſt-India company, who had ſeized upon them. This monopolizing company built forts, levied taxes, took upon themſelves the ſettling of all diſputes, ventured to puniſh any perſon with death whom they judged to act contrary to their intereſt; and even went ſo far as to conſider as enemies all the European navigators whom they found in theſe latitudes, the excluſive trade of which they claimed to themſelves. This conduct ſo totally ruined this chartered body, that, in 1730, they were obliged to give up the expeditions which they had hitherto carried on without competition. They only reſerved to themſelves the property of the forts, the defence and the maintenance of which coſts them annually 280,000 florins, or 616,000 livres [25,666l. 13s. 4d.] They ſend a ſhip every year to victual theſe forts, unleſs they can prevail upon the merchantmen, who frequent thoſe latitudes, to convey proviſion to them at a moderate freight. They ſometimes even make uſe of the right they have reſerved to themſelves of ſending twelve ſoldiers upon every ſhip, by paying ſeventy-nine livres four ſols [3l. 6d.] for the paſſage, and for the ſubſiſtence of each.

The directors of the ſeveral factories are allowed to pur-

chaſe ſlaves, upon giving forty-four livres [1l. 16s. 8d.] ahead to the companies on which they depend; but they are obliged to ſell them in Africa itſelf, and are forbidden by the laws to ſend them on their own account to the New World.

Theſe regions are open at preſent to all the ſubjects of the republic. Their obligations to the company conſiſt only in paying 46 livres 14 ſols [2l. 1cs. 7d.] to it, for every ton which is contained in the veſſel, and three per cent. for all the proviſions which they bring back from America to Europe.

In the firſt beginning of their liberty, the trade of gold, ivory, wax, red wood, and of that ſpecies of pepper known by the name of *malaguette*, employed ſeveral veſſels. None are fitted out at preſent for theſe objects, portions of which are put upon the ſhips that are ſent to purchaſe negroes.

The number of theſe veſſels, which are moſtly of two hundred tons burthen, and the crews of which conſiſted of twenty-eight, and as far as thirty-ſix men, formerly amounted annually to twenty-five or thirty, which traded for ſix or ſeven thouſand ſlaves. This number is conſiderably diminiſhed, ſince the lowering of the coffee hath diſabled the colonies from paying for thoſe cargoes. The province of Holland hath ſome ſhare in this ſhameful traffic, but it is chiefly carried on by the province of Zeeland.

The deplorable victims of this barbarous avidity are diſperſed in the ſeveral ſettlements which the United provinces have formed in the iſlands, or on the American continent. They ought to be expoſed to public view, and ſold ſeparately, but this rule is not always adhered to; it even frequently happens, that a privateer, at the time of the ſale, agrees for the price for which he will ſell the ſlaves at the next voyage.

In 1552, the Engliſh flag appeared, for the firſt time, on the weſtern coaſts of Africa. The merchants who traded there formed an aſſociation thirty-eight years after, to which, according to the general cuſtom of thoſe times, an excluſive charter was granted. This ſociety, and thoſe that followed it, had their veſſels often confiſcated by the Portugueſe, and afterwards by the Dutch, who pretended that they were the ſovereigns of thoſe countries; but the peace

of Breda at length put a perpetual ſtop to theſe tyrannical perſecutions.

The Engliſh iſlands in the New World began, at that time, to require a great number of ſlaves for the cultivation of their lands. This was an infallible ſource of proſperity for the companies whoſe buſineſs it was to furniſh theſe planters; and yet theſe companies, which ſucceeded each other with great rapidity, were all ruined; and retarded, by their indolence, or by their diſhoneſty, the improvement of the colonies, from which the nation had expected to reap ſuch conſiderable advantages.

Public indignation againſt ſuch miſconduct manifeſted itſelf, in 1697, in ſo violent a manner, as to compel government to allow individuals to frequent the weſtern part of Africa, but upon condition that they ſhould give ten per cent. to the monopoly for the maintenance of the forts built in thoſe regions. The privilege itſelf was afterwards aboliſhed. This trade hath been open ſince 1749 to all the Engliſh navigators without any expence, and the treaſury hath taken upon itſelf the expences of ſovereignty.

Since the peace of 1763, Great Britain hath ſent annually to the coaſt of Guinea 195 veſſels, conſiſting, collectively, of twenty-three thouſand tons, and ſeven or eight thouſand men. Rather more than half this number have been diſpatched from Liverpool; and the remainder from London, Briſtol, and Lancaſter. They have traded for forty thouſand ſlaves, the greateſt part of which have been ſold in the Engliſh Weſt-India iſlands, and in North America. Thoſe that were not diſpoſed of in theſe markets, have been either fraudulently or publicly introduced in the colonies belonging to other nations.

This conſiderable trade hath not been conducted upon uniform principles. The part of the coaſt which begins at Cape Blanco, and ends at Cape Rouge, was put under the immediate inſpection of the miniſtry in 1765. From that period to 1778, the civil and military expences of this ſettlement have amounted to 4,050,000 livres [168,750l.]: a ſum which the nation have conſidered as inadequate to the advantages they have acquired from it.

A committee, choſen by the merchants themſelves, and conſiſting of nine deputies, three from Liverpool, three from London, and three from Briſtol, are to take care of

the ſettlements which are formed between Cape Rouge and the line. Though parliament have annually granted four or five hundred thouſand livres [from 16,666l. 13s. 4d. to 20,833l. 6s. 8d.] for the maintenance of theſe ſmall forts, moſt of them are in a ruinous condition; but they are protected by the difficulty of landing.

The Engliſh have no factory upon the remaining part of the weſt of Africa. Every trader reſorts to them in the manner he thinks moſt ſuitable to his intereſt, without reſtraint, and without any particular protection. As the competition is greater in theſe ports than in the others, the navigators of the nation have gradually forſaken them, and they ſcarce deal annually for two thouſand ſlaves, in markets where they formerly purchaſed twelve or fifteen thouſand.

It can ſcarce be doubted that the French appeared on thoſe ſavage coaſts before their rivals; but they entirely loſt ſight of them till the year 1621, when their flag began again to appear there. The ſettlement which they formed at that period in Senegal, acquired, in 1678, ſome increaſe from the terror which the victorious arms of Lewis XIV had inſpired. This riſing power became the prey of a formidable enemy under the reign of his ſucceſſor. Other factories, ſucceſſively formed, and become uſeleſs in the hands of a monopoly, had already been forſaken. Accordingly, for want of ſettlements, the trade of that country hath always been inſufficient for its rich colonies. In its greateſt proſperity, it hath never furniſhed them more than thirteen or fourteen thouſand ſlaves annually.

The Danes ſettled above a century ago in thoſe countries. An excluſive company exerciſed its privileges there, with that degree of barbarity, of which the more poliſhed countries of Europe have ſo often ſet the example in thoſe unfortunate climates. Only one of its agents had the courage to forego theſe atrocious proceedings, which, from habit, they had conſidered as legal. Such was his reputation for his goodneſs, and ſuch the confidence repoſed in his integrity, that the negroes uſed to come from the diſtance of a hundred leagues to ſee him. The ſovereign of a diſtant country ſent his daughter to him with gold and ſlaves, to obtain a grandſon of Schilderop's, which was the name of this European ſo much revered upon all the coaſts of Ni-

gritia. O virtue! thou doſt ſtill exiſt in the hearts of thoſe miſerable people, who are condemned to live among tigers, or to groan under the tyranny of man! They are then capable of feeling the delightful attractions of benevolent humanity! Juſt and magnanimous Dane! What monarch ever received an homage ſo pure and ſo glorious as that which thy nation hath ſeen thee enjoy! And in what countries? On a ſea, and on a land, which hath been contaminated for three centuries paſt with an infamous traffic, of crimes and misfortunes, of men exchanged for arms, of children ſold by their fathers! We have not tears ſufficient to deplore ſuch horrors, and thoſe tears would be unavailing!

In 1754, the trade of Guinea was opened to all citizens, upon condition of paying twelve livres [10s.] to the treaſury for every negro which they ſhould introduce into the Daniſh iſlands in the New World. This liberty did not extend, *communibus annis*, beyond the purchaſe of five hundred ſlaves. Such a degree of indolence determined government to liſten, in 1765, to the propoſals of a foreigner, who offered to give a proper degree of extenſion to this vile commerce, and the tax impoſed upon it was taken off. This new experiment was entirely unſucceſsful, becauſe the author of the project was never able to collect more than 170,000 crowns [21,250l.] for the execution of his enterpriſes; and in 1776, the ſyſtem which had been given up eleven years before, was reaſſumed.

Chriſtianſburg and Fredericſburg are the only factories which are in ſome degree fortified; the others are only plain lodges. The crown maintains, in the five ſettlements, ſixty-two men, ſome of whom are negroes, for the ſum of 53,160 livres [2,215l.] If the magazines were properly ſupplied, it would be eaſy to treat every year for two thouſand ſlaves: only two hundred are purchaſed in the preſent ſtate of things, moſt of which are given up to foreign nations, becauſe no Daniſh navigators appear to carry them off.

It cannot be eaſily foreſeen what maxims Spain will adopt in the connections ſhe is going to form in Africa. This crown hath ſucceſſively received ſlaves, ſometimes openly, and ſometimes fraudulently, from the Genoeſe, from the Portugueſe, from the French, and from the Eng-

liſh. In order to emerge from this ſtate of dependence, it hath cauſed to be ceded, by the treaties of 1777 and of 1778, by the court of Liſbon, the iſlands of Annabona, and of Fernando del Po, both ſituated very near the line, the one to the ſouth, and the other to the north. The former hath only one very dangerous harbour, too little water to contain ſhips, and is ſix miles in circumference. The greateſt part of this ſpace is occupied by two high mountains. The thick clouds with which they are almoſt conſtantly covered, keep the valleys in that ſtate of moiſture which would render them ſuſceptible of cultivation. A few hundred negroes are ſeen here, whoſe labours furniſh a ſmall number of white men with a great abundance of hogs, goats, and poultry. The ſale of a ſmall quantity of cotton ſupplies them with their other wants, which are incloſed in a very narrow compaſs. The ſecond acquiſition is of leſs intrinſic value, as it hath no kind of harbour, and as its inhabitants are very ferocious! but its proximity to Calbari and to Gabon, renders it more proper for the purpoſe which hath dictated the acquiring of it.

Let not, however, the Spaniſh miniſtry imagine, that it is ſufficient to have ſome poſſeſſions in Guinea, in order to procure ſlaves. Such was, indeed, the origin of this infamous traffic. At that time, every European nation had only to fortify its factories, in order to drive away ſtrangers, and to oblige the natives to ſell to no other traders except their own. But when theſe ſmall diſtricts have had no more ſlaves to deliver, the trade hath languiſhed, becauſe the people of the inland countries have preferred the free ports, where they might chooſe their purchaſers. The advantage of theſe eſtabliſhments, formed at ſo much expence, was loſt, when the object of their commerce was exhauſted.

*Methods made uſe of in the purchaſe, in the treatment, and in the ſale, of ſlaves. Reflections upon this ſubject.*

THE difficulty of procuring ſlaves naturally points out the neceſſity of employing ſmall ſhips for carrying them off. At a time when a ſmall territory, adjacent to the coaſt, furniſhed in a fortnight or three weeks a whole cargo, it was prudent to employ large veſſels, becauſe there was a poſſibility of underſtanding, looking af-

ter, and encouraging, the ſlaves, who all ſpoke the ſame language. At preſent, when each ſhip can ſcarce procure ſixty or eighty ſlaves a month, brought from the diſtance of two or three hundred leagues, exhauſted by the fatigues of a long journey, obliged to remain on-board the veſſels they are embarked upon five or ſix months, in ſight of their country, having all different idioms, uncertain of the deſtiny that awaits them, ſtruck with the prepoſſeſſion that the Europeans eat them and drink their blood; their extreme uneaſineſs alone deſtroys them, or occaſions diſorders which become contagious, by the impoſſibility of ſeparating the ſick from the healthy. A ſmall ſhip deſtined to carry two or three hundred negroes, by means of the ſhort ſtay it makes on the coaſt, avoids half the accidents and loſſes to which a ſhip, capable of holding five or ſix hundred ſlaves, is expoſed.

There are other abuſes, and thoſe of the utmoſt conſequence, to be reformed in this voyage, which is naturally unhealthy. Thoſe who engage in it commonly fall into two great miſtakes. Dupes to a mercenary diſpoſition, the privateers pay more regard to the quantity of ſtowage, than to the diſpatch of their veſſels; a circumſtance that neceſſarily prolongs the voyage, which every thing ſhould induce them to ſhorten. Another inconvenience ſtill more dangerous is, the cuſtom they have of ſailing from Europe at all times; though the regularity of the winds and the currents hath determined the moſt proper ſeaſon for arriving in theſe latitudes.

This bad practice hath given riſe to the diſtinction of the great and little voyage. The little voyage is the ſtraighteſt and the ſhorteſt. It is no more than eighteen hundred leagues to the moſt diſtant ports where there are ſlaves. It may be performed in thirty-five or forty days, from the beginning of September to the end of November; becauſe, from the time of ſetting out to the time of arrival, the winds and the currents are favourable. It is even poſſible to attempt it in December, January, and February, but with leſs ſecurity and ſucceſs.

Sailing is no longer practicable in theſe latitudes, from the beginning of March to the end of Auguſt. The ſhips would have continually to ſtruggle againſt the violent currents which run northward, and againſt the ſouth-eaſt

wind, which conſtantly blows. Experience hath taught navigators, that, during this ſeaſon, they muſt keep at a diſtance from the ſhore, get into the open ſea, ſail towards the ſouth as far as twenty-ſix or twenty-eight degrees betwixt Africa and Brazil, and afterwards draw gradually nearer and nearer to Guinea, in order to land at a hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues to windward of the port where they are to diſembark. This route is two thouſand five hundred leagues, and requires ninety or a hundred days ſail.

This great route, independent of its length, deprives them of the moſt favourable time for trade, and for returning. The ſhips meet with calms, are thwarted by winds, and carried away by currents; water fails them, the proviſions are ſpoiled, and the ſlaves are ſeized with the ſcurvy. Other calamities, not leſs fatal, often increaſe the danger of this ſituation. The negroes to the north of the line are ſubject to the ſmall-pox, which, by a ſingularity very diſtreſſing, ſeldom breaks out among this people till after the age of fourteen. If this contagious diſtemper ſhould affect a ſhip which is at her moorings, there are ſeveral known methods to leſſen its violence. But a ſhip attacked by it, while on its paſſage to America, often loſes the whole cargo of ſlaves. Thoſe who are born to the ſouth of the line eſcape this diſeaſe by another, which is a kind of virulent ulcer, the malignity of which is more violent and more irritable on the ſea, and which is never radically cured. Phyſicians ought, perhaps, to obſerve this double effect of the ſmall-pox among the negroes, which is, that it favours thoſe who are born beyond the equator, and never attacks the others in their infancy. The number and variety of effects ſometimes afford occaſion for the inveſtigation of the cauſes of diſorders, and for the diſcovery of remedies proper for them.

Though all the nations concerned in the African trade be equally intereſted in preſerving the ſlaves in their paſſage, they do not all attend to this with the ſame care. They all feed them with beans mixed with a ſmall quantity of rice; but they differ in other reſpects in their manner of treating them. The Engliſh, Dutch, and Danes, keep the men conſtantly in irons, and frequently hand-cuff the women: the ſmall number of hands they have on-board

their ſhips obliges them to this ſeverity. The French, who have great numbers, allow them more liberty; three or four days after their departure they take off all their fetters. All theſe nations, eſpecially the Engliſh, are too negligent with regard to the intercourſe between the ſailors with the women ſlaves. This irregularity occaſions the death of three fourths of thoſe whom the Guinea voyage deſtroys every year. None but the Portugueſe, during their paſſage, are ſecured againſt revolts and other calamities. This advantage is a conſequence of the care they take to man their veſſels only with the negroes to whom they have given their freedom. The ſlaves, encouraged by the converſation and condition of their countrymen, form a tolerably favourable idea of the deſtiny that awaits them. The quietneſs of their behaviour induces the Portugueſe to grant the two ſexes the happineſs of living together; an indulgence which, if allowed in other veſſels, would be productive of the greateſt inconveniences.

The ſale of ſlaves is not carried on in the ſame manner throughout all America. The Engliſh, who have promiſcuouſly bought up whatever preſented itſelf in the general market, ſell their cargo by wholeſale. A ſingle merchant buys it entire; and the planters parcel it out. What they reject is ſent into foreign colonies, either by ſmuggling, or with permiſſion. The cheapneſs of a negro is a greater object to the buyer to induce him to purchaſe, than the badneſs of his conſtitution is to deter him from it. Theſe traders will one day be convinced of the abſurdity of ſuch a conduct.

The Portugueſe, Dutch, French, and Danes, who have no way of diſpoſing of the infirm and weakly ſlaves, never take charge of any of them in Guinea. They all divide their cargoes, according to the demands of the proprietors of plantations. The bargain is made for ready money, or for credit, according as circumſtances vary.

*Wretched condition of the ſlaves in America.*

In America it is generally believed and aſſerted, that the Africans are equally incapable of reaſon and of virtue. The following well-authenticated fact will enable us to judge of this opinion.

An Engliſh ſhip that traded in Guinea in 1752, was

obliged to leave the ſurgeon behind, whoſe bad ſtate of health did not permit him to continue at ſea. Murray, for that was his name, was there, endeavouring to recover his health, when a Dutch veſſel drew near the coaſt, put the blacks in irons whom curioſity had brought to the ſhore, and inſtantly ſailed off with the booty.

Thoſe who intereſted themſelves for theſe unhappy people, incenſed at ſo baſe a treachery, inſtantly ran to Cudjoe, who ſtopped them at his door, and aſked them what they were in ſearch of? "The white man who is with "you," replied they, "who ſhould be put to death, be-"cauſe his brethren have carried off ours. The Europe-"ans," anſwered the generous hoſt, "who have carried "off our countrymen, are barbarians; kill them whenever "you can find them. But he who lodges with me is a "good man, he is my friend; my houſe is his fortreſs; I "am his ſoldier, and I will defend him. Before you can "get at him, you ſhall paſs over me. O my friends, what "juſt man would ever enter my doors, if I had ſuffered "my habitation to be ſtained with the blood of an inno-"cent man?" This diſcourſe appeaſed the rage of the the blacks: they retired, aſhamed of the deſign that had brought them there; and ſome days after acknowledged to Murray himſelf, how happy they were that they had not committed a crime that would have occaſioned them perpetual remorſe.

This event renders it probable, that the firſt impreſſions which the Africans receive in the New World, determine them either to good or bad actions. Repeated experience confirms the truth of this obſervation: thoſe who fall to the ſhare of a humane maſter willingly eſpouſe his intereſts. They inſenſibly adopt the ſpirit and manners of the place where they are fixed. This attachment is ſometimes exalted even into heroiſm. A Portugueſe ſlave who had fled into the woods, having learnt that his old maſter had been taken up for an aſſaſſination, came into the court of juſtice, and acknowledged himſelf guilty of the fact, let himſelf be put in priſon in lieu of his maſter; brought falſe, though judicial proofs, of his pretended crime, and ſuffered death inſtead of the guilty perſon. Actions of ſo ſublime a nature muſt be uncommon. We will mention

one, which, though leſs heroic, is nevertheleſs very praiſe-worthy.

A planter of St. Domingo had a confidential ſlave, whom he was perpetually flattering with the hope of ſpeedy freedom, which, however, he never granted him. The more pains this kind of favourite took to render himſelf uſeful, the more firmly rivetted were his fetters, becauſe he became more and more neceſſary. Hope, however, did not forſake him, but he reſolved to attain the deſired end by a different mode.

In ſome parts of the iſland, the negroes are obliged to provide themſelves with clothes and nouriſhment; and for this purpoſe they are allowed a ſmall portion of territory, and two hours every day to cultivate it. Thoſe among them who are active and intelligent, do not merely gain their ſubſiſtence from theſe little plantations, but they likewiſe acquire a ſuperfluity, which inſures a fortune to them more or leſs conſiderable.

Lewis Deſrouleaux, whoſe ſchemes rendered him very economical and very laborious, had ſoon amaſſed funds more than ſufficient to purchaſe his liberty. He offered them with tranſport for the purchaſe of his independence, which had been ſo often promiſed him. "I have too long trad-"ed with the blood of my fellow creatures," ſaid his maſter to him in a tone of humiliation; "be free, you reſtore "me to myſelf." Immediately the maſter, whoſe heart had been rather led aſtray, than corrupted, ſold all his effects, and embarked for France.

He was obliged to go through Paris, in order to reach his province. His intention was to make but a ſhort ſtay in that metropolis; but the various pleaſures he met with in that ſuperb and delightful capital, detained him till he had fooliſhly diſſipated the riches which he had acquired by long and fortunate labours. In his deſpair he thought it leſs humiliating to ſolicit, in America, aſſiſtance from thoſe who were obliged to him for their advancement, than to aſk it in Europe of thoſe who had ruined him.

His arrival at Cape François cauſed a general ſurpriſe. No ſooner was his ſituation known, than he was generally forſaken; all doors were ſhut againſt him, no heart was moved by compaſſion. He found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of paſſing the remainder of his days in that retire-

ment and obſcurity which is the conſequence of indigence, and eſpecially when merited, when Lewis Deſrouleaux came to throw himſelf at his feet. "Condeſcend," ſaid that virtuous freeman, "condeſcend to accept the houſe "of your ſlave; you ſhall be ſerved, obeyed, and beloved "in it." But ſoon perceiving that the reſpect which is owing to the unfortunate, and the attention which is due to benefactors, did not render his old maſter happy, he preſſed him to retire to France. "My gratitude will fol- "low you," ſaid he, embracing his knees. "Here is a "contract for an annual income of 1500 livres [62l.] "which I conjure you to accept. This freſh inſtance of your "goodneſs will be the comfort of my future days."

The annuity hath always been paid beforehand ſince that period. Some preſents, as tokens of friendſhip, conſtantly accompanied it from St. Domingo to France. The giver, and the receiver, were both alive in 1774. May they both ſerve for a long time as a model to this proud, ungrateful, and unnatural age!

Several acts reſembling this of Lewis Deſrouleaux, have affected ſome of the planters. Several of them would readily ſay, as Sir William Gooch, governor of Virginia, when he was blamed for returning the ſalutation of a negro, *I ſhould be very ſorry that a ſlave ſhould be more mannerly than myſelf.*

But there are barbarians, who conſidering pity as a weakneſs, delight in making their dependents perpetually ſenſible of their tyranny. They juſtly, however, receive their puniſhment in the negligence, infidelity, deſertion, and ſuicide of the deplorable victims of their inſatiable avarice. Some of theſe unfortunate men, eſpecially thoſe of Mina, courageouſly put an end to their lives, under the firm perſuaſion that they ſhall, immediately after death, riſe again in their own country, which they look upon as the fineſt in the world. A vindictive ſpirit furniſhes others with reſources ſtill more fatal. Inſtructed from their infancy in the arts of poiſons, which grow, as it were, under their hands, they employ them in the deſtruction of the cattle, the horſes, the mules, the companions of their ſlavery, and of every living thing employed in the cultivation of the lands of their oppreſſors. In order to remove from themſelves all ſuſpicion, they firſt exerciſe their cruelties on their wives,

their children, their miſtreſſes, and on every thing that is deareſt to them. In this dreadful project, that can only be the reſult of deſpair, they have the double pleaſure of delivering their ſpecies from a yoke more dreadful than death, and of leaving their tyrant in a wretched ſtate of miſery, that is an image of their own condition. The fear of puniſhment doth not check them. They are ſcarce ever known to have any kind of foreſight; and they are, moreover, certain of concealing their crimes, being proof againſt tortures. By one of thoſe inexplicable contradictions of the human heart, though common to all people, whether civilized or not, negroes, though naturally cowards, give many inſtances of an unſhaken firmneſs of ſoul. The ſame organization which ſubjects them to ſervitude, from the indolence of their mind, and the relaxation of their fibres, inſpires them with vigour and unparalleled reſolution for extraordinary actions. They are cowards all their lifetime, and heroes only for an inſtant. One of theſe miſerable men hath been known to cut his wriſt off with a ſtroke of a hatchet, rather than purchaſe his liberty by ſubmitting to the vile office of an executioner. Another ſlave had been ſlightly tortured for a trifling fault, which he was not even guilty of. Stung by reſentment, he determined to ſeize upon the whole family of his oppreſſor, and to carry them up to the roof of the houſe. When the tyrant was preparing to enter his dwelling, he beheld his youngeſt ſon thrown down at his feet; he lifted up his head and ſaw the ſecond fall likewiſe. Seized with deſpair, he fell on his knees, to implore, in great agitation, the life of the third. But the fall of this laſt of his offspring, together with that of the negro, convinced him that he was no longer a father, nor worthy to be one.

Nothing, however, is more miſerable than the condition of the negro, throughout the whole American archipelago. The firſt thing done, is to diſgrace him with the indelible mark of ſlavery, by ſtamping with a hot iron, upon his arms, or upon his breaſt, the name or the mark of his oppreſſor. A narrow unwholeſome hut, without any conveniences, ſerves him for a dwelling. His bed is a hurdle, fitter to put the body to torture than to afford it any eaſe. Some earthen pots, and a few wooden diſhes, are his furniture. The coarſe linen which covers part of his body,

neither ſecures him from the inſupportable heats of the day, nor the dangerous dews of the night. The food he is ſupplied with, is caſſava, ſalt beef, ſalt cod, fruits, and roots, which are ſcarce able to ſupport his miſerable exiſtence. Deprived of every enjoyment, he is condemned to a perpetual drudgery in a burning climate, conſtantly under the rod of an unfeeling maſter.

All Europe hath, for this century paſt, been filled with the moſt ſublime and the ſoundeſt ſentiments of morality. Writings, which will be immortal, have eſtabliſhed in the moſt affecting manner, that all men are brethren. We are filled with indignation at the cruelties, either civil or religious, of our ferocious anceſtors, and we turn away our eyes from thoſe ages of horror and blood. Thoſe among our neighbours, whom the inhabitants of Barbary have loaden with irons, obtain our pity and aſſiſtance. Even imaginary diſtreſſes draw tears from our eyes, both in the ſilent retirement of the cloſet, and eſpecially at the theatre. It is only the fatal deſtiny of the negroes which doth not concern us. They are tyrannized, mutilated, burnt, and put to death, and yet we liſten to theſe accounts coolly and without emotion. The torments of a people to whom we owe our luxuries, can never reach our hearts.

The condition of theſe ſlaves, though everywhere deplorable, is ſomething different in the colonies. In thoſe where there are very extenſive territories, a portion of land is generally given them, to ſupply them with the neceſſaries of life. They are allowed to employ a part of the Sunday in cultivating it, and the few moments that on other days they ſpare from the time allotted for their meals. In the more confined iſlands, the coloniſt himſelf furniſhes their food, the greateſt part of which hath been imported by ſea from other countries. Ignorance, avarice, or poverty, have introduced into ſome colonies a method of providing for the ſubſiſtence of negroes, equally deſtructive both to the men and the plantation. They are allowed on Saturday, or ſome other day, to work in the neighbouring plantations, or to plunder them, in order to procure a maintenance for the reſt of the week.

Beſide theſe differences, ariſing from the particular ſituation of the ſettlements in the American iſlands, each European nation hath a manner of treating ſlaves peculiar to it-

ſelf. The Spaniards make them the companions of their indolence; the Portugueſe, the inſtruments of their debauchery; the Dutch, the victims of their avarice. By the Engliſh, they are conſidered merely as natural productions, which ought neither to be uſed nor deſtroyed without neceſſity; but they never treat them with familiarity; they never ſmile upon them, nor ſpeak to them. One would think they were afraid of letting them ſuſpect, that nature could have given any one mark of reſemblance betwixt them and their ſlaves. This makes them hate the Engliſh. The French, leſs haughty, leſs diſdainful, conſider the Africans as a ſpecies of moral beings; and theſe unhappy men, ſenſible of the honour of ſeeing themſelves almoſt treated like rational creatures, ſeem to forget that their maſter is impatient of making his fortune, that he always exacts labours from them above their ſtrength, and frequently lets them want ſubſiſtence.

The opinions of the Europeans have alſo ſome influence on the condition of the negroes of America. The proteſtants, who are not actuated by a deſire of making proſelytes, ſuffer them to live in mohammediſm, or in that idolatry in which they were born, under a pretence, that it would be injurious to keep their *brethren in Chriſt* in a ſtate of ſlavery. The catholics think themſelves obliged to give them ſome inſtruction, and to baptiſe them; but their charity extends no farther than the bare ceremonies of a baptiſm, which is wholly uſeleſs and unneceſſary to men who dread not the pains of hell, to which, they ſay, they are accuſtomed in this life.

The torments they experience in their ſlavery, and the diſorders to which they are liable in America, both contribute to render them inſenſible to the dread of future puniſhment. They are particularly ſubject to two diſeaſes, the yaws, and a complaint that affects their ſtomach. The firſt effect of this laſt diſorder is, to turn their ſkin and complexion to an olive colour. Their tongue becomes white, and they are overpowered by ſuch a deſire of ſleeping that they cannot reſiſt: they grow faint, and are incapable of the leaſt exerciſe. It is a languor, and a general relaxation of the whole machine. In this ſituation they are in ſuch a ſtate of deſpondency, that they ſuffer themſelves to be knocked down rather than walk. The loathing which

they have of mild and wholeſome food, is attended with a kind of rage for every thing that is ſalted or ſpiced. Their legs ſwell, their breath is obſtructed, and few of them ſurvive this diſorder. The greateſt part die of ſuffocation, after having ſuffered and languiſhed for ſeveral months.

The thickneſs of their blood, which appears to be the ſource of theſe diſorders, may proceed from ſeveral cauſes. One of the principal is, undoubtedly, the melancholy which muſt ſeize theſe men who are violently torn away from their country, are fettered like criminals, who find themſelves all on a ſudden on the ſea, where they continue for two months or ſix weeks, and who, from the midſt of a beloved family, paſs under the yoke of an unknown people, from whom they expect the moſt dreadful puniſhments. A ſpecies of food, new to them, and diſagreeable in itſelf, diſguſts them in their paſſage. At their arrival in the iſlands, the proviſions that are diſtributed to them, are neither good in quality, nor ſufficient to ſupport them. The caſſava, which is particularly allotted to them, is very dangerous in itſelf. The animals who eat of it are rapidly deſtroyed, though, by a contradiction which is often found in nature, they are very fond of it. If this root doth not produce ſuch fatal effects among mankind, it is becauſe they do not make uſe of it till all its poiſon hath been extracted by preparation. But with what negligence muſt not theſe preparations be made, when ſlaves only are the object of them?

Art hath for a long time been employed in endeavouring to find out ſome remedy againſt this diſorder in the ſtomach. It has been found, after ſeveral experiments, that nothing was more ſalutary than to give the blacks who were attacked with it three ounces of the juice of a ſpecies of colocynth, with almoſt a ſimilar doſe of a kind of oracte, known in the iſlands by the name of *jargon*. This drink is preceded by a purgative, which conſiſts of half a drachm of gumbooge, diluted in milk, or in honey-water.

The yaws, which is the ſecond diſorder peculiar to negroes, and which accompanies them from Africa to America, is contracted in the birth, or by communication between the ſexes. No age is free from it; but it more particularly attacks at the periods of infancy and youth. Old people have ſeldom ſtrength ſufficient to ſupport the long and violent treatment which it requires.

There are ſaid to be four ſpecies of yaws. The yaws with puſtules, large and ſmall, as in the ſmall-pox; that which reſembles lentils; and laſtly the red yaws, which is the moſt dangerous of all.

The yaws attack every part of the body, but more eſpecially the face. It manifeſts itſelf by granulated red ſpots, reſembling a raſpberry. Theſe ſpots degenerate into ſordid ulcers, and the diſorder at length affects the bones. It is not in general attended with much ſenſibility.

Fevers ſeldom attack the perſons who are afflicted with the yaws; they eat and drink as uſual, but they have an almoſt inſuperable averſion for every kind of motion, without which, however, no cure can be expected.

The eruption laſts about three months; the patients are fed, during this long ſpace of time, with the catalou, or *cetmia Braſilienſis*, with rice dreſſed without either greaſe or butter, and the only drink which is allowed them is water, in which one or other of theſe vegetables hath been boiled. They muſt alſo be kept very warm, and made to uſe every ſort of exerciſe that can moſt powerfully promote perſpiration.

At length the period comes, when it is neceſſary to purge and bathe the patient, and to adminiſter mercury to him, both internally and by friction, in ſuch a manner as to bring on a gentle ſalivation. The effect of this remedy, which is the only ſpecific againſt the diſeaſe, is to be aſſiſted by a diet drink made with herbs, or with the ſudorific woods. This proceſs muſt even be continued for a long time after the cure is conſidered as complete.

The ulcer, which hath ſerved as a drain during the treatment, is not always cloſed at the termination even of the diſorder. It is then cured with red precipitate, and a digeſtive ointment.

The negroes have a peculiar method of drying up their puſtules; they apply to them the black of the ſaucepans, mixed with the juice of the lemon or citron.

All the negroes, as well male as female, who come from Guinea, or are born in the iſlands, have the yaws once in their lives: it is a diſeaſe they muſt neceſſarily paſs through; but there is no inſtance of any of them being attacked with it a ſecond time, after having been radically cured. The Europeans ſeldom or never catch this diſorder, notwith-

ſtanding the frequent and daily connection which they have with the negro women. Theſe women ſuckle the children of the white people, but do not give them the yaws. How is it poſſible to reconcile theſe facts, which are inconteſtible, with the ſyſtem which phyſicians ſeem to have adopted with regard to the nature of the yaws? Can it not be allowed, that the ſemen, the blood, and ſkin of the negroes, are ſuſceptible of a virus peculiar to their ſpecies? The cauſe of this diſorder, perhaps, is the ſame as that which occaſions their colour: one difference is naturally productive of another: and there is no being or quality that exiſts abſolutely detached from others in nature.

But whatever this diſorder may be, it is demonſtrated, that fourteen or fifteen hundred thouſand blacks, who are now diſperſed over the European colonies of the New World, are the unfortunate remains of eight or nine millions of ſlaves that have been conveyed there. This dreadful deſtruction cannot be the effect of the climate, which is nearly the ſame as that of Africa, much leſs of the diſorders, to which, in the opinion of all obſervers, but few fall a ſacrifice. It muſt therefore originate from the manner in which theſe ſlaves are governed: and might not an error of this nature be corrected?

*In what manner the condition of ſlaves might be rendered more ſupportable.*

The firſt ſtep neceſſary in this reformation would be, to attend minutely to the natural and moral ſtate of man. Thoſe who go to purchaſe blacks on the coaſts of ſavage nations; thoſe who convey them to America, and eſpecially thoſe who direct their labours, often think themſelves obliged, from their ſituation, and frequently too for the ſake of their own ſafety, to oppreſs theſe wretched men. The heart of thoſe who conduct the ſlaves is loſt to all ſenſe of compaſſion, is ignorant of every motive to enforce obedience, except thoſe of fear or ſeverity, and theſe are exerciſed with all the ferocious ſpirit of a temporary authority. If the proprietors of plantations would ceaſe to regard the care of their ſlaves as an occupation below them, and conſider it as an office to which it is their duty to attend, they would ſoon diſcard theſe errors that ariſe from a ſpirit of cruelty. The hiſtory of all mankind would ſhew them, that, in order to render

ſlavery uſeful, it is at leaſt neceſſary to make it eaſy; that force doth not prevent the rebellion of the mind; that it is the maſter's intereſt that the ſlave ſhould be attached to life, and that nothing is to be expected from him the moment that he no longer fears to die.

This principle of enlightened reaſon, derived from the ſentiments of humanity, would contribute to the reformation of ſeveral abuſes. Men would acknowledge the neceſſity of lodging, clothing, and giving proper food to beings condemned to the moſt painful bondage that hath ever exiſted ſince the infamous origin of ſlavery. They would be ſenſible, that it is naturally impoſſible that thoſe who reap no advantage from their own labours, can have the ſame underſtanding, the ſame economy, the ſame activity, the ſame ſtrength, as the man who enjoys the produce of his induſtry. That political moderation would gradually take place, which conſiſts in leſſening labour, alleviating puniſhment, and rendering to man part of his rights, in order to reap, with greater certainty, the benefit of thoſe duties that are impoſed upon him. The preſervation of a great number of ſlaves, whom diſorders, occaſioned by vexation or regret, deprive the colonies of, would be the natural conſequence of ſo wiſe a regulation. Far from aggravating the yoke that oppreſſes them, every kind of attention ſhould be given to make it eaſy, and to diſſipate even the idea of it, by favouring a natural propenſity that ſeems peculiar to the negroes.

Their organs are extremely ſenſible of the powers of muſic. Their ear is ſo true, that in their dances, the time of a ſong makes them ſpring up a hundred at once, ſtriking the earth at the ſame inſtant. Enchanted, as it were, with the voice of a ſinger, or the tone of a ſtringed inſtrument, a vibration of the air is the ſpirit that actuates all the bodies of theſe men: a ſound agitates, tranſports, and throws them into ecſtaſies. In their common labours, the motion of their arms, or of their feet, is always in cadence. At all their employments they ſing, and ſeem always as if they were dancing. Muſic animates their courage, and rouſes them from their indolence. The marks of this extreme ſenſibility to harmony are viſible in all the muſcles of their bodies, which are always naked. Poets and muſicians by nature, they make the words ſubſervient to the muſic, by a licence

they arbitrarily assume of lengthening or shortening them, in order to accommodate them to any air that pleases them. Whenever any object or incident strikes a negro, he instantly makes it the subject of a song. In all ages this hath been the origin of poetry. Three or four words, which are alternately repeated by the singer and the general chorus, sometimes constitute the whole poem. Five or six bars of music compose the whole length of the song. A circumstance that appears singular is, that the same air, though merely a continual repetition of the same tones, takes entire possession of them, makes them work or dance for several hours: neither they, nor even the white men, are disgusted with that tedious uniformity which these repetitions might naturally occasion. This particular attachment is owing to the warmth and expression which they introduce into their songs. Their airs are generally double time. None of them tend to inspire them with pride. Those intended to excite tenderness promote rather a kind of languor. Even those which are most lively carry in them a certain expression of melancholy. This is the highest entertainment to minds of great sensibility.

So strong an inclination for music might become a powerful motive of action under the direction of skilful hands. Festivals, games, and rewards, might on this account be established among them. These amusements, conducted with judgment, would prevent that stupidity so common among slaves, ease their labours, and preserve them from that constant melancholy which consumes them, and shortens their days. After having provided for the preservation of the blacks exported from Africa, the welfare of those who were born in the islands themselves would then be considered.

The negroes are not averse from the propagation of their species, even in the chains of slavery. But it is the cruelty of the masters which hath effectually prevented them from complying with this great end of nature. Such hard labour is required from negro women, both before and after their pregnancy, that their children are either abortive, or live but a short time after delivery. Mothers, rendered desperate by the punishments which the weakness of their condition occasions them, sometimes snatch their children from the cradle, in order to strangle them in their arms, and sa-

crifice them with a fury mingled with a ſpirit of revenge and compaſſion, that they may not become the property of their cruel maſters. This barbarity, the horror of which muſt be wholly imputed to the Europeans, will perhaps convince them of their error. Their ſenſibility will be rouſed, and engage them to pay a greater attention to their true intereſts. They will find, that by committing ſuch outrages againſt humanity, they injure themſelves; and if they do not become the benefactors of their ſlaves, they will at leaſt ceaſe to be their executioners.

They will, perhaps, reſolve to ſet free thoſe mothers who ſhall have brought up a conſiderable number of children to the age of ſix years. The allurements of liberty are the moſt powerful that can influence the human heart. The negro women, animated by the hope of ſo great a bleſſing, to which all would aſpire, and few would be able to obtain, would make neglect and infamy be ſucceeded by a virtuous emulation to bring up children, whoſe number and preſervation would ſecure to them freedom and tranquillity.

After having taken wiſe meaſures not to deprive their plantations of thoſe ſuccours ariſing from the extraordinary fruitfulneſs of the negro women, they will attend to the care of conducting and extending cultivation by means of population, and without foreign expedients. Every thing invites them to eſtabliſh this eaſy and natural ſyſtem.

There are ſome powers, whoſe ſettlements in the American iſles every day acquire extent, and there are none whoſe manual labour doth not continually increaſe. Theſe lands, therefore, conſtantly require a greater number of hands to clear them. Africa, where all Europeans go to recruit the population of the colonies, gradually furniſhes them with fewer men, and ſupplies them at the ſame time with worſe ſlaves, and at a higher price. This ſource for the obtaining ſlaves will be gradually more and more exhauſted. But were this change in trade as chimerical, as it ſeems to be not far diſtant, it is nevertheleſs certain, that a great number of ſlaves, drawn out of a remote region, periſh in their paſſage, or in the New World; and that when they come to America they are ſold at a very advanced price; that there are few of them whoſe natural term of life is not ſhortened; and that the greater part of thoſe

who attain a wretched old age, are extremely ignorant, and being accuſtomed from their infancy to idleneſs, are frequently very unfit for the employments to which they are deſtined, and are in a continual ſtate of deſpondency, on account of their being ſeparated from their country. If we do not miſtake in our opinion, cultivators born in the American iſlands themſelves, always breathing their native air, brought up without any other expence than what conſiſts in a cheap food, habituated in early life to labour by their own parents, endowed with a ſufficient ſhare of underſtanding, or a ſingular aptitude for all the uſeful arts; ſuch cultivators cannot but be preferable to ſlaves that have been ſold, and live in a ſtate of perpetual exile and reſtraint.

The method of ſubſtituting in the place of foreign negroes, thoſe of the colonies themſelves, is very obvious. It wholly conſiſts in ſuperintending the black children that are born in the iſlands, in confining to their workhouſes that multitude of ſlaves who carry about with them their worthleſſneſs, their licentiouſneſs, and their luxury and inſolence of their maſters, in all the towns and ports of Europe; but above all, in requiring of navigators who frequent the African coaſts, that they ſhould form their cargo of an equal number of men and women, or even of a majority of women, during ſome years, in order to reduce that diſproportion which prevails between the two ſexes.

This laſt precaution, by putting the pleaſures of love within the reach of all the blacks, would contribute to their eaſe and multiplication. Theſe unhappy men, forgetting the weight of their chains, would with tranſport ſee themſelves live again in their children. The majority of them are faithful, even to death, to thoſe negro women whom love and ſlavery hath aſſigned to them for their companions; they treat them with that compaſſion which the wretched mutually derive from one another, even in the rigour of their condition; they comfort them under the load of their employments; they ſympathize, at leaſt, with them, when, through exceſs of labour, or want of food, the mother can only offer her child a breaſt that is dry, or bathed in her tears. The women, on their part, though tied down to no reſtrictions of chaſtity, are fixed in their attachments; provided that the vanity of being

beloved by white people does not render them inconſtant. Unhappily this is a temptation to infidelity; to which they have too often opportunities to yield.

Thoſe who have inquired into the cauſes of this taſte for black women, which appears to be ſo depraved in the Europeans, have found it to ariſe from the nature of the climate, which, under the torrid zone, irreſiſtibly excites men to the pleaſures of love; the facility of gratifying this inſurmountable inclination without reſtraint, and without the trouble of a long purſuit; from a certain captivating attraction of beauty, diſcoverable in black women, as ſoon as cuſtom hath once reconciled the eye to their colour; but principally from a warmth of conſtitution, which gives them the power of inſpiring and returning the moſt ardent tranſports. Thus they revenge themſelves, as it were, for the humiliating deſpondency of their condition, by the violent and inordinate paſſion which they excite in their maſters; nor do our ladies in Europe poſſeſs, in a more exalted degree, the art of waſting and running out large fortunes than the negro women. But thoſe of Africa have the ſuperiority over thoſe of Europe, in the real paſſion they have for the men who purchaſe them. The happy diſcovery and prevention of conſpiracies that would have deſtroyed all their oppreſſors by the hands of their ſlaves, hath been often owing to the faithful attachment of theſe negro women. The double tyranny of theſe unworthy uſurpers of the eſtates and liberty of ſuch a number of people, deſerved, doubtleſs, ſuch a puniſhment.

*Origin and progreſs of ſlavery.*

We will not here ſo far debaſe ourſelves as to enlarge the ignominious liſt of thoſe writers who devote their abilities, to juſtify by policy what is reprobated by morality. In an age where ſo many errors are boldly expoſed, it would be unpardonable to conceal any truth that is intereſting to humanity. If whatever we have hitherto advanced hath ſeemingly tended only to alleviate the burden of ſlavery, the reaſon is, that it was firſt neceſſary to give ſome comfort to thoſe unhappy beings, whom we cannot ſet free; and convince their oppreſſors that they are cruel to the prejudice of their real intereſts. But, in the meantime, until ſome conſiderable revolution ſhall make the evidence of this great

truth felt, it may not be improper to purſue this ſubject further. We ſhall then firſt prove, that there is no reaſon of ſtate that can authorize ſlavery. We ſhall not be afraid to cite to the tribunal of reaſon and juſtice thoſe governments which tolerate this cruelty, or which even are not aſhamed to make it the baſis of their power.

Slavery is a ſtate in which a man hath loſt, either by force or by convention, the property of his own perſon, and of whom a maſter can diſpoſe as of his own effects.

This odious ſtate was unknown in the firſt ages. Men were all equals; but that natural equality did not laſt long. As there was not yet any regular form of government eſtabliſhed to maintain ſocial order; as none of the lucrative profeſſions exiſted, which the progreſs of civilization hath ſince introduced among the nations, the ſtrongeſt, or the moſt artful, ſoon ſeized upon the beſt territories; and the weakeſt, and leſs cunning, were obliged to ſubmit to thoſe who were able to feed and to defend them. This ſtate of dependence was tolerable. In the ſimplicity of ancient manners, there was no great difference between a maſter and his ſervants. Their dreſs, their food, their lodging, were almoſt alike. If, at any time, the ſuperior, impetuous, and violent, as ſavages generally are, gave way to the ferociouſneſs of his character, this was a tranſitory act, which made no alteration in the habitual ſtate of things. But this arrangement did not long ſubſiſt. Thoſe who commanded, readily accuſtomed themſelves to believe that they were of a ſuperior nature to thoſe who obeyed. They kept them at a diſtance, and debaſed them. This contempt was attended with fatal conſequences; the idea of conſidering theſe unfortunate people as ſlaves, grew familiar; and they became really ſo. Each maſter diſpoſed of them in the manner which was the moſt favourable to his intereſt and to his paſſions. A maſter who had no further uſe for their labour, ſold or exchanged them: and he who was deſirous of increaſing the number of them, encouraged them to multiply.

When ſocieties, become more ſtrong and more numerous, acquired a knowledge of the arts and of commerce; the weak found a ſupport in the magiſtrate, and the poor found reſources in the ſeveral branches of induſtry. They both emerged, by degrees, from the kind of neceſſity they had

experienced of ſubmitting to ſlavery, in order to procure ſubſiſtence. The cuſtom of putting one's ſelf in the power of another, became every day leſs frequent, and liberty was at length conſidered as a precious and unalienable property.

In the meanwhile, the laws, which were imperfect and ferocious, ſtill continued, for ſome time, to impoſe the penalty of ſervitude. As in the times of profound ignorance, the ſatisfaction of the offended perſon was the only aim which an ill-contrived authority propoſed, thoſe who had infringed the principles of juſtice, with regard to the perſon who accuſed them, were given up to him. The tribunals were afterwards determined by more extenſive and more uſeful views. Every crime appeared to them, and with reaſon, an offence againſt ſociety; and the criminal became the ſlave of the ſtate, which diſpoſed of him in the manner moſt advantageous for the public good. At that period there were no other captives, except thoſe acquired in war.

Before a power was eſtabliſhed to maintain order, the conteſts between individuals were very frequent, and the conqueror never failed to reduce the vanquiſhed to a ſtate of ſervitude. This cuſtom continued for a long time, in the diſputes between nations, becauſe, as each combatant took the field at his own expence, he remained maſter of the priſoners he had taken himſelf, or of thoſe which, in the diviſion of the ſpoil, were given to him as a reward for his actions. But when the armies became mercenary, the government, who were at the expence of the war, and who ran the riſk of the event, appropriated to themſelves the ſpoils of the enemy, of which the priſoners were always the moſt important part. It was then neceſſary to purchaſe ſlaves from the ſtate, or from the neighbouring ſavage nations. Such was the practice of the Greeks and of the Romans, and of all people who choſe to increaſe their enjoyments by this inhuman and barbarous cuſtom.

Europe relapſed again into the chaos of the primary ages, when the people of the north ſubverted the coloſſal empire, which had been raiſed, with ſo much glory, by a warlike and politic republic. Theſe barbarians, who had had ſlaves in the midſt of their foreſts, multiplied them prodigiouſly in the provinces which they invaded. Not only thoſe who were taken in arms were reduced to ſervitude,

this humiliating ſtate became alſo the portion of citizens, who cultivated quietly at home the arts which flouriſh in times of peace. However, the number of freemen was more conſiderable in the ſubdued countries, during the time that the conquerors remained faithful to the form of government which they had thought proper to eſtabliſh, in order to contain their new ſubjects, and to protect them from foreign invaſions. But, no ſooner had this ſingular inſtitution, which collected a nation, commonly diſperſed, into a conſtantly ſtandng army, loſt its influence; no ſooner had the fortunate affinities which united the meaneſt ſoldier of this powerful body to their king, or to their general, ceaſed to exiſt, than a ſyſtem of univerſal oppreſſion was eſtabliſhed. There was no longer any remarkable diſtinction between thoſe who had preſerved their independence, and thoſe who had for a long time groaned under the yoke of ſlavery.

The men who were free, whether they were inhabitants of the towns or of the country, reſided upon the king's domains, or upon the territories of ſome baron. All thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of fiefs, pretended, in thoſe times of anarchy, that a man who enjoyed no diſtinction from birth, whoever he might be, could only poſſeſs a precarious kind of property, which had originally proceeded from their liberality. This prejudice, perhaps the moſt extravagant that hath ever afflicted the human ſpecies, perſuaded the nobles that they could never be guilty of injuſtice, whatever were the obligations they might impoſe upon ſo baſe an order of beings.

According to theſe principles, they were not allowed to abſent themſelves, without leave, from their native country. They were not allowed to diſpoſe of their property, either by will or by any other act made in their lifetime; and their lord was their undoubted heir, when they died without leaving any poſterity, or when this poſterity were fixed in another part of the country. They were not allowed to appoint guardians to their children; and the liberty of marrying was granted to thoſe only who had purchaſed it. So much was it apprehended that the people ſhould acquire an inſight on their rights and intereſts, that the liberty of learning to read was one of the favours granted with the moſt reluctance. They were compelled to the

moſt humiliating vaſſalages. The taxes which were impoſed upon them were arbitrary, unjuſt, oppreſſive, and deſtructive of the ſpirit of activity and induſtry. They were obliged to bear the tyrant's expences when he arrived; their proviſions, their furniture, their flocks, were all abandoned to pillage. If a law-ſuit was begun, it was not poſſible to end it in an amicable manner, becauſe this method would have deprived the lord of the rights that would accrue to him from the ſentence. Every kind of exchange between individuals was prohibited, at the period when the lord of the manor choſe himſelf to ſell the proviſions which they had collected, or which they had even purchaſed. Such was the ſtate of oppreſſion under which the claſs of people groaned who were the leaſt ill treated. If any of the vexations we have juſt given an account of, were unknown in certain places, others were ſubſtituted to them which were often more intolerable.

Some towns in Italy, which by fortunate chance had acquired the poſſeſſion of ſome branches of commerce, were the firſt to be aſhamed of ſuch a ſituation; and their riches furniſhed them with the means of ſhaking off the yoke of their feeble deſpots. Others purchaſed their liberty of the emperors, who, in the courſe of the bloody and laſting diſputes which they had with the popes, and with their vaſſals, thought themſelves exceedingly fortunate to ſell privileges, which the ſtate of their affairs did not permit them to refuſe. Some princes were even prudent enough to ſacrifice that part of their authority, which the ferment excited in men's minds made them foreſee that they ſhould ſoon be deprived of. Several of theſe towns remained inſulated: but the majority united their intereſts. All of them formed political ſocieties, governed by laws which had been dictated by the citizens themſelves.

The ſucceſs with which this revolution in government was attended, ſurpriſed the neighbouring nations. In the meanwhile, as the kings and barons who oppreſſed them, were not compelled by circumſtances to give up their ſovereignty, they contented themſelve with granting to the towns in their dependence valuable a nd conſiderable immunities. They were authoriſed to ſur' ound themſelves with walls, to bear arms, and to pay no more than a regular and moderate tribute. Liberty was ſo eſſential a point of their conſtitution, that whenever a bondſman took refuge among

them, he became a citizen, if he was not claimed during the courſe of the year. Theſe communities, or municipal bodies, proſpered in proportion to their poſition, their population, and their induſtry.

While the condition of men, reputed free, was ſo fortunately improved, that of the ſlaves remained the ſame; that is to ſay, the moſt deplorable which it is poſſible to conceive. Theſe wretched people belonged ſo entirely to their maſters, that they ſold or exchanged them at pleaſure. They were not allowed any kind of property, even out of their ſavings, whenever a fixed ſum was aſſigned them for their ſubſiſtence. They were put to the torture for the ſmalleſt miſdemeanour. They might be puniſhed with death, without the interference of the magiſtrate. Marriage was for a long time forbidden to them; the connections between the two ſexes were illegal; they were tolerated, and even encouraged, but they were not honoured with the nuptial benediction. The condition of the children was the ſame as that of their fathers; they were born, they lived, and they died in ſlavery. In moſt of the courts of judicature, their teſtimony was not admitted againſt a free man. They were obliged to wear a particular dreſs; and this humiliating diſtinction recalled every moment to their minds the ignominy of their exiſtence. To complete theſe misfortunes, the ſpirit of the feudal ſyſtem oppoſed the diſfranchiſement of this ſpecies of men. A generous maſter might indeed break the bonds of his domeſtic ſlaves whenever he choſe; but innumerable formalities were required to change the ſituation of the ſlaves which belonged to the glebe. According to a maxim generally received, a vaſſal could not diminiſh the value of the fief which he had received; and the releaſing of any of its cultivators was diminiſhing it. This obſtacle muſt neceſſarily have retarded, but could not entirely prevent, the revolution, and for the following reaſon:

The Germans, and the other conquerors, had appropriated immenſe domains to themſelves at the time of their inváſion. The nature of theſe eſtates did not allow them to be diſmembered. From that time it became impoſſible for the proprietor to retain all his ſlaves under his own inſpection, and he was compelled to diſperſe them over the ſoil they were to cultivate. Their diſtance preventing their be-

ing overlooked, it was thought proper to encourage them by rewards proportioned to their labour. Thus gratifications, which moſt commonly conſiſted of a greater or leſs conſiderable part of the produce of the lands, were added to their uſual maintenance.

By this arrangement the villeins formed a kind of aſſociation with their maſters. The riches which they acquired in this advantageous market enabled them to offer a fixed rent for the grounds with which they were intruſted, upon the condition that the overplus ſhould belong to them. As the lords acquired by theſe means, without riſk or uneaſineſs, from their poſſeſſions, as much, or more income, than they had formerly obtained, this practice gained credit, and was ſoon univerſally adopted. It was no longer the intereſt of the proprietor to attend to ſlaves who cultivated at their own expence, and who were exact in their payments. Thus ended this perſonal ſlavery.

It ſometimes happened, that a bold enterpriſing man, who had laid out conſiderable funds on his farm, was driven from it before he had reaped the fruits of his advances. This inconvenience occaſioned the requiſition of leaſes for ſeveral years. They were extended, in proceſs of time, to the whole life of the cultivator, and were often ſettled upon his moſt diſtant poſterity. This was the termination of real ſlavery.

This great change, brought on in a manner by itſelf, was haſtened by a cauſe which deſerves to be obſerved. All the European governments were than ariſtocratic. The chief of every republic was perpetually at war with his barons. Being for the moſt part unable to reſiſt them by force, he was obliged to have recourſe to artifice. That artifice, which was employed to the greateſt advantage, was to protect the ſlaves againſt the tyranny of their maſters, and to undermine the power of the nobles, by diminiſhing the dependence of their ſubjects. It is not improbable but that ſome kings favoured the ſpirit of liberty, from the only motive of general utility; but moſt of them were viſibly induced to adopt this fortunate policy, more on account of their perſonal intereſts, than from principles of humanity and benevolence.

However this may be, the revolution was ſo complete, that liberty became more general throughout the greateſt

part of Europe, than it had been in any climate, or in any age. In all ancient governments, in those even which are always propoſed to us as models, moſt of the people were condemned to a ſhameful and cruel ſervitude. The more the ſocieties acquired knowledge, riches, and power, the more did the number of ſlaves increaſe, and the more deplorable became their fate. Athens reckoned twenty vaſſals to one citizen. The diſproportion was ſtill greater at Rome, become the miſtreſs of the univerſe. In both the republics, ſlavery was carried to the utmoſt exceſs of fatigue, of miſery, and of ignominy. Since it hath been abolished among us, the people are infinitely more happy, even under the moſt deſpotic empires, than they were formerly under the beſt regulated democracies.

But no ſooner was domeſtic liberty revived in Europe, than it was annihilated in America. The Spaniards, whom the waves firſt caſt upon theſe ſhores of the New World, did not imagine they owed any duties to a ſet of men who were not of their complexion, and who did not practice their cuſtoms or their religion. They conſidered them only as the inſtruments of their avarice, and loaded them with irons. Theſe weak men, who had not the habit of labour, ſoon expired among the vapours of the mines, or in other occupations almoſt as deſtructive. Slaves were then ſent for from Africa. Their number hath increaſed in proportion as the cultivations have been extended. The Portugueſe, the Dutch, the Engliſh, the French, the Danes, all theſe nations, whether free or enſlaved, have ſought, without remorſe, an increaſe of fortune in the labours, the blood, and the deſpair of theſe unfortunate people. What a horrid ſyſtem!

Liberty is the property of one's ſelf. Three kinds of it are diſtinguiſhed: natural liberty, civil liberty, and political liberty; that is to ſay the liberty of the individual, the liberty of the citizen, and the liberty of a nation. Natural liberty is the right granted by nature, to every man to diſpoſe of himſelf at pleaſure. Civil liberty is the right which is inſured by ſociety to every citizen, of doing every thing which is not contrary to the laws. Political liberty is the ſtate of a people who have not alienated their ſovereignty, and who either make their own laws, or who conſtitute a part in the ſyſtem of their legiſlation.

The first of these liberties is, after reason, the distinguishing characteristic of man. Brutes are chained up, and kept in subjection, because they have no notion of what is just or unjust, no idea of grandeur or meanness. But in man, liberty is the principle of his vices or his virtues. None but a free man can say, I will or I will not; and consequently none but a free man can be worthy of praise, or be liable to censure.

Without liberty, or the property of one's own body, and the enjoyment of one's mind, no man can be either a husband, a father, a relation, or a friend; he hath neither a country, a fellow-citizen, nor a God. The slave, impelled by the wicked man, and who is the instrument of his wickedness, is inferior even to the dog, let loose by the Spaniard upon the American; for conscience which the dog hath not, still remains with the man. He who basely abdicates his liberty, gives himself up to remorse, and to the greatest misery which can be experienced by a thinking and sensible being. If there be not any power under the heavens, which can change my nature and reduce me to the state of brutes, there is none which can dispose of my liberty. God is my father, and not my master; I am his child and not his slave. How is it possible that I should grant to political power, what I refuse to divine omnipotence?

Will these eternal and immutable truths, the foundation of all morality, the basis of all rational government be contested? They will, and the audacious argument will be dictated by barbarous and sordid avarice. Behold that proprietor of a vessel, who leaning upon his desk, and with the pen in his hand, regulates the number of enormities he may cause to be committed on the coasts of Guinea; who considers at leisure, what number of firelocks he shall want to obtain one negro, what fetters will be necessary to keep him chained on-board his ship, what whips will be required to make him work; who calculates with coolness every drop of blood which the slave must necessarily expend in labour for him, and how much it will produce; who considers whether a negro woman will be of more advantage to him by her feeble labours, or by going through the dangers of child-birth. You shudder!—If there existed any religion which tolerated, or which gave only a tacit sanc-

tion to ſuch kind of horrors; if, abſorbed in ſome idle or ſeditious queſtions, it did not inceſſantly exclaim againſt the authors or the inſtruments of this tyranny; if it ſhould conſider it as a crime in a ſlave to break his chains; if it ſhould ſuffer to remain in its community, the iniquitous judge who condemns the fugitive to death; if ſuch a religion, I ſay, exiſted, ought not the miniſters of it to be ſuffocated under the ruins of their altars?

Men or demons, whichever you are, will you dare to juſtify the attempts you make againſt my independence, by pleading the right of the ſtrongeſt! What! is not the man who wants to enſlave me guilty? Doth he only make uſe of his rights! Where are theſe rights? Who hath ſtamped them with a character ſacred enough to ſilence mine? I hold from nature the right of defending myſelf; and it hath not given thee that of attacking me. If thou doſt think thyſelf authoriſed to oppreſs me, becauſe thou art ſtronger or more dexterous than I am, complain not if my vigorous arm ſhall rip up thy boſom in ſearch of thy heart. Complain not, when in thy torn entrails thou ſhalt feel that death which I ſhall have conveyed into them with thy food. I am ſtronger or more dexterous than thou art; be the victim in thy turn, and expiate the crime of having been an oppreſſor.

But it is alleged, that in all regions, and in all ages, ſlavery hath been more or leſs eſtabliſhed.

I grant it; but what doth it ſignify to me, what other people in other ages have done? Are we to appeal to the cuſtoms of ancient times, or to our conſcience? Are we to liſten to the ſuggeſtions of intereſt, of infatuation, and of barbariſm, rather than to thoſe of reaſon and of juſtice! If the univerſality of a practice were admitted as a proof of its innocence, we ſhould then have a complete apology for uſurpations, conqueſts, and for every ſpecies of oppreſſion.

But the ancients, it is ſaid, thought themſelves to be maſters of the lives of their ſlaves; and we, become more humane, diſpoſe only of their liberty and of their labours.

It is true, the progreſs of knowledge hath enlightened the minds of all modern legiſlators upon this important point. All codes of laws, without exception, have exerted themſelves for the preſervation of man, even of

him who languiſhes in a ſtate of ſlavery. They have agreed, that his exiſtence ſhould be put under the protection of the magiſtrates, and that the tribunals of juſtice alone ſhould be able to haſten the end of it. But hath this law, the moſt ſacred of all ſocial inſtitutions, ever been put in force? Is not America peopled with atrocious coloniſts, who inſolently uſurp the rights of the ſovereign, and deſtroy by the ſword, or by fire, the unfortunate victims of their avarice? Doth not this ſacrilegious infraction of the laws, to the diſgrace of all Europe, ſtill remain unpuniſhed? I challenge any defender or panegyriſt of our humanity and of our juſtice, to adduce an inſtance of any one of theſe aſſaſſins having loſt his life upon a ſcaffold.

Let us ſuppoſe, that the regulations which, according to the panegyriſt, do ſo much honour to our age, be ſtrictly obſerved; will the ſlave be, on that account, much leſs an object of compaſſion? What! does not the maſter, who diſpoſes of my ſtrength at his pleaſure, likewiſe diſpoſe of my life, which depends on the voluntary and proper uſe of my faculties? What is exiſtence to him who has not the diſpoſal of it? I cannot kill my ſlave; but I can make him bleed under the whip of an executioner; I can overwhelm him with ſorrows, drudgery, and want; I can injure him every way, and ſecretly undermine the principles and ſprings of his life; I can ſmother, by ſlow puniſhments, the wretched infant which a negro woman carries in her womb. Thus the laws protect the ſlave againſt a violent death, only to leave to my cruelty the right of making him die by degrees. The right of ſlavery is, in fact, that of perpetrating all ſorts of crimes: thoſe crimes which invade property; for ſlaves are not ſuffered to have any even in their own perſons: thoſe crimes which deſtroy perſonal ſafety; for the ſlave may be ſacrificed to the caprice of his maſter: thoſe crimes which make modeſty ſhudder. —My blood riſes at theſe horrid images. I deteſt, I abhor the human ſpecies compoſed only of victims and executioners; and if it is never to become better, may it be annihilated!

But theſe negroes, ſay they, are a race of men born for ſlavery; their diſpoſitions are narrow, treacherous, and wicked; they themſelves allow the ſuperiority of our under-

ſtandings, and almoſt acknowledge the juſtice of our authority.

The minds of the negroes are contracted; becauſe ſlavery deſtroys all the ſprings of the ſoul. They are wicked; but not ſufficiently ſo with you. They are treacherous; becauſe they are under no obligation to ſpeak truth to their tyrants. They acknowledge the ſuperiority of our underſtandings, becauſe we have perpetuated their ignorance: they allow the juſtice of our authority, becauſe we have abuſed their weakneſs. As it was impoſſible for us to maintain our ſuperiority by force, we have, by a criminal policy, had recourſe to cunning. We have almoſt perſuaded them that they were a ſingular ſpecies, born only for dependence, for ſubjection, for labour, and for chaſtiſement. We have neglected nothing that might tend to degrade theſe unfortunate people, and we have afterwards upbraided them for their meanneſs.

But theſe negroes, it is further urged, were born ſlaves.

Barbarians, will you perſuade me, that a man can be the property of a ſovereign, a ſon the property of a father, a wife the property of a huſband, a domeſtic the property of a maſter, a negro the property of a planter?

Proud and diſdainful being, who doſt diſavow thy brethren, wilt thou never perceive that this contempt recoils upon thyſelf? If thou doſt wiſh that thy pride ſhould be ennobled, exert a ſufficient elevation of mind, to make it conſiſt in the neceſſary affinities which thou haſt with theſe unfortunate men whom thou doſt debaſe.

One common Father, an immortal ſoul, a future ſtate of felicity, ſuch is thy true glory, and ſuch likewiſe is theirs.

But it is government itſelf that ſells the ſlaves.

How did the ſtate acquire that right? Let the magiſtrate be ever ſo abſolute, is he proprietor of the ſubjects ſubmitted to his empire? Hath he any further authority, but that with which he is intruſted by the citizen? And have any people ever had the privilege of diſpoſing of their liberty?

But theſe ſlaves have ſold themſelves. If they belong to themſelves, they have a right to diſpoſe of themſelves. It is his buſineſs to put a price on his liberty; and when that

is settled, whoever gives him the money, hath acquired a legal right over him.

No man hath the right of selling himself; because he hath no right to accede to every thing which an unjust, violent, and depraved master might require of him. He is the property of God, who is his first master, and from whose authority he is never released. The man who sells him, makes a deceitful bargain with his purchaser, because he loses his own value. And the money, as soon as it is paid to him, remains, with his person, in the hands of his master. What property can a man be in possession of, who hath given up every right of property? Nothing can belong to him who hath agreed to have nothing. He cannot even have virtue, honesty, nor a will of his own. The man who hath reduced himself to the condition of a destructive weapon, is a madman, and not a slave. A man may sell his life, in the same manner as a soldier does, but he cannot as a slave; and this constitutes the difference of the two conditions.

But these slaves had been taken in war, and would have been murdered if we had not interfered.

Would there have been any wars without you? Are not the dissensions among those people owing to yourselves? Do you not carry destructive weapons to them? Do you not inspire them with the desire of using them? Will your vessels never forsake those deplorable shores, till after the destruction of the miserable race who inhabit them? Why do you not suffer the victor to make what use he chooses of his victory; and why do you become his accomplice?

But they were criminals, who deserved death, or the greatest punishments, and were condemned in their own country to slavery. Are you then the executioners of the people of Africa? Beside, who was it that condemned them? Do you not know, that in a despotic state there is no criminal but the tyrant? The subject of an absolute prince is the same as the slave in a state repugnant to nature. Every thing that contributes to keep a man in such a state, is an attempt against his person. Every power which fixes him to the tyranny of one man, is the power of his enemies: and all those who are about him, are the authors or abettors of this violence. His mother, who taught him the first lessons of obedience; his neighbour, who set

him the example of it; his ſuperiors, who compelled him into this ſtate; and his equals, who led him into it by their opinion: all theſe are the miniſters and inſtruments of tyranny. The tyrant can do nothing of himſelf; he is only the *primum mobile* of thoſe efforts which all his ſubjects exert to their own mutual oppreſſion. He keeps them in a ſtate of perpetual war, which renders robberies, treaſons, aſſaſſinations, lawful. Thus, like the blood which flows in his veins, all crimes originate from his heart, and return thither as to their primary ſource. Caligula uſed to ſay, that if the whole human race had had but one head, he ſhould have taken pleaſure in cutting it off. Socrates would have ſaid, that if all crimes were heaped upon one head, that ſhould be the one which ought to be ſtricken off.

But they enjoy more felicity in America than they did in Africa.

Wherefore then are theſe ſlaves conſtantly ſighing after their own country? Why do they reſume their liberty as ſoon as they are able? Why do they prefer deſerts, and the ſociety of wild beaſts, to a condition that appears to you ſo mild? Why doth deſpair induce them to deſtroy themſelves, or to poiſon you? Why do their women ſo frequently procure abortion, in order that their children may not partake of their melancholy deſtiny? When you ſpeak to us of the happineſs of your ſlaves, you are falſe to yourſelves, and you deceive us. It is the utmoſt pitch of extravagance to attempt to transform ſo ſtrange a barbarity into an act of humanity.

But it is urged, that in Europe, as well as in America, the people are ſlaves. The only advantage we have over the negroes is, that we can break one chain to put on another.

It is but too true; moſt nations are enſlaved. The multitude is generally ſacrificed to the paſſions of a few privileged oppreſſors. There is ſcarce a region known, where a man can flatter himſelf that he is maſter of his perſon, that he can diſpoſe, at pleaſure, of his inheritance; and that he can quietly enjoy the fruits of his induſtry. Even in thoſe countries that are leaſt under the yoke of ſervitude, the citizen, deprived of the produce of his labour, by the wants inceſſantly renewed of a rapacious or needy government, is continually reſtrained in the moſt lawful means of

acquiring felicity. Liberty is ſtifled in all parts, by extravagant ſuperſtitions, by barbarous cuſtoms, and by obſolete laws. It will one day certainly riſe again from its aſhes. In proportion as morality and policy ſhall be improved, man will recover his rights. But wherefore, while we are waiting for theſe fortunate times, and theſe enlightened ages of proſperity, wherefore muſt there be an unfortunate race, to whom even the comfortable and honourable name of freeman is denied, and who, notwithſtanding the inſtability of events, muſt be deprived of the hope even of obtaining it? Whatever, therefore, may be ſaid, the condition of theſe unfortunate people is very different from ours.

The laſt argument which hath been uſed in juſtification of ſlavery, hath been to ſay, that it was the only method which could be found to lead negroes to the bleſſings of eternal life, by the great benefit of baptiſm.

O beneficent Jeſus! how is it poſſible that thy mild maxims could have been perverted to juſtify ſuch an infinite number of horrid acts? If the chriſtian religion did really thus give a ſanction to the avarice of empires, its ſanguinary tenets ought for ever to be proſcribed. It ſhould either be aboliſhed, or it ſhould diſavow, in the face of the whole univerſe, the enormities that are imputed to it. Let not its miniſters be apprehenſive of diſplaying too much enthuſiaſm upon ſuch a ſubject. The more they ſhall be inflamed upon it, the better will they ſerve their cauſe. Tranquillity would be criminal in them, and wiſdom will break forth in their tranſports.

The man who defends the ſyſtem of ſlavery, will undoubtedly complain, that we have not allowed to his arguments all the energy of which they were ſuſceptible. This may poſſibly be. Who is the man, who would proſtitute his talents in the defence of the moſt abominable of all cauſes, or who would employ his eloquence, if he had any, in the juſtification of a multitude of murders already committed, and of a multitude of others ready to be perpetrated? Executioner of thy brethren, take thyſelf the pen in thy hand if thou dareſt, quiet the perturbations of thy conſcience, and harden thine accomplices in their crimes.

I could have refuted with greater energy, and more at large, the arguments I had to combat; but the ſubject was not worth the pains. Are many exertions due, or muſt the

utmoſt intenſeneſs of thought be beſtowed upon him who doth not ſpeak as he thinks? Would not the ſilence of contempt be more ſuitable, than diſpute with him who pleads for his own intereſt againſt juſtice and againſt his own conviction?

I have already ſaid too much for the honeſt and feeling man. I ſhall never be able to ſay enough for the inhuman trader.

Let us, therefore, haſten to ſubſtitute the light of reaſon and the ſentiments of nature to the blind ferociouſneſs of our anceſtors. Let us break the bonds of ſo many victims to our mercenary principles, ſhould we even be obliged to diſcard a commerce which is founded only on injuſtice, and the object of which is luxury.

But even this is not neceſſary. There is no occaſion to give up thoſe conveniences which cuſtom hath ſo much endeared to us. We may draw them from Africa itſelf. The moſt valuable of them are indigenous there, and it would be an eaſy matter to naturalize the others. Can there be a doubt, that a people, who ſell their children in order to ſatisfy ſome tranſient caprices, would determine to cultivate their lands, that they might enjoy habitually all the advantages of a virtuous and well-regulated ſociety?

Perhaps it would not even be impoſſible to obtain theſe productions from the colonies without peopling them with ſlaves. The proviſions might be gathered by the hands of free people, and would from that time be conſumed without remorſe.

In order to obtain this end, which is generally conſidered as chimerical, it would not be neceſſary, according to the ideas of an enlightened man, to releaſe from their chains thoſe unfortunate people, who are either born, or have grown old in ſervitude. Theſe ſtupid men, who would not have been prepared for ſuch a change of ſituation, would be incapable of conducting themſelves, they would ſpend their lives in habitual indolence, or in the commiſſion of all kinds of crimes. The great benefit of liberty muſt be preſerved for their poſterity, and even that with ſome modifications. Theſe children, till they attain their twentieth year, ſhould belong to the maſters of the manufacture or plantation where they were born, in order that he may be reimburſed the expences which he will have been obliged to incur for bringing them up. The five following years

they ſhould ſtill be obliged to ſerve him, but for a ſtipulated ſalary ſettled by the law. After this time they ſhould be independent, provided their conduct had not deſerved much cenſure. If they ſhould have been guilty of any weighty crime, they ſhould be condemned by the magiſtrates to public labour for a more or leſs conſiderable time. A hut ſhould be given to the new citizens, with ground ſufficient to make a ſmall garden, and the treaſury ſhould be at the expence of this eſtabliſhment. No regulation ſhould deprive theſe men, become free, of the power of extending the property which ſhall have been gratuitouſly beſtowed upon them. To put ſuch reſtraints upon their activity and their intelligence, would be to loſe, by abſurd laws, the fruits of ſo laudable an inſtitution.

This arrangement, according to all appearances, would be attended with the happieſt effects. The population of the blacks, which is at preſent checked by the regret of bringing into the world none but beings who are condemned to misfortune and infamy, will make a rapid progreſs. This offspring will be moſt tenderly taken care of by thoſe very mothers who often took inexpreſſible delight in ſtifling them, or in ſeeing them periſh. Theſe men, accuſtomed to occupation, in expectation of certain liberty, and who will not have an extent of property ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence, will ſell their labours to whomſoever would be inclined or able to pay for them. Their work will indeed coſt more than that of the ſlaves, but it will alſo be more profitable. A greater degree of labour will give a greater abundance of productions to the colonies, which will be enabled, by their riches, to acquire a greater quantity of merchandize from the mother-country.

Is it then apprehended, that the facility of acquiring ſubſiſtence without labour, on a ſoil naturally fertile, and of diſpenſing with the want of clothes, would plunge theſe men in idleneſs? Why then do not the inhabitants of Europe confine themſelves to ſuch labours as are of indiſpenſable neceſſity? Why do they exhauſt their powers in laborious employments, which tend only to the gratification of a few momentary fancies? There are amongſt us a thouſand profeſſions, ſome more laborious than others, which owe their origin to our inſtitutions. Human laws have given riſe to a variety of factitious wants, which otherwiſe

would never have had an exiſtence. By diſpoſing of every ſpecies of property according to their capricious inſtitutions, they have ſubjected an infinite number of people to the imperious will of their fellow-creatures, ſo far as even to make them ſing and dance for ſubſiſtence. We have amongſt us beings, formed like ourſelves, who have conſented to bury themſelves under mountains, in order to furniſh us with metals, and with copper, which may perhaps poiſon us: why do we imagine that the negroes are leſs dupes and leſs fooliſh than the Europeans?

While we are reſtoring theſe unhappy beings to liberty, we muſt be careful to ſubject them to our laws and manners, and to offer them our ſuperfluities. We muſt give them a country, give them intereſts to ſtudy, productions to cultivate, and articles of conſumption agreeable to their reſpective taſtes, and our colonies will never want hands, which, being eaſed of their chains, will become more active and robuſt.

In order to overturn the whole ſyſtem of ſlavery, which is ſupported by paſſions ſo univerſal, by laws ſo authentic, by the emulation of ſuch powerful nations, by prejudices ſtill more powerful, to what tribunal ſhall we refer the cauſe of humanity, which ſo many men are in confederacy to betray? Sovereigns of the earth, you alone can bring about this revolution. If you do not ſport with the reſt of mortals, if you do not regard the power of kings as the right of a ſucceſsful plunder, and the obedience of ſubjects as artfully obtained from their ignorance, reflect on your own obligations. Refuſe the ſanction of your authority to the infamous and criminal traffic of men turned into ſo many herds of cattle, and this trade will ceaſe. For once unite, for the happineſs of the world, thoſe powers and deſigns which have been ſo often exerted for its ruin. If ſome one among you would venture to found the expectation of this opulence and grandeur on the generoſity of all the reſt, he inſtantly becomes an enemy of mankind, who ought to be deſtroyed. You may carry fire and ſword into his territories. Your armies will ſoon be inſpired with the ſacred enthuſiaſm of humanity. You will then perceive what difference virtue makes between men who ſuccour the oppreſſed, and mercenaries who ſerve tyrants.

But what am I ſaying? Let the ineffectual calls of humanity be no longer pleaded with the people and their maſters: perhaps they have never been attended to in any public tranſactions. If then, ye nations of Europe, intereſt alone can exert its influence over you, liſten to me once more. Your ſlaves ſtand in no need either of your generoſity or your counſels, in order to break the ſacrilegeous yoke of their oppreſſion. Nature ſpeaks a more powerful language than philoſophy or intereſt. Already have two colonies of fugitive negroes been eſtabliſhed, to whom treaties and power give a perfect ſecurity from your attempts. Theſe are ſo many indications of the impending ſtorm, and the negroes only want a chief, ſufficiently courageous, to lead them on to vengeance and ſlaughter.

Where is this great man, whom nature owes to her afflicted, oppreſſed, and tormented children? Where is he? He will undoubtedly appear, he will ſhew himſelf, he will lift up the ſacred ſtandard of liberty. This venerable ſignal will collect around him the companions of his misfortunes. They will ruſh on with more impetuoſity than torrents; they will leave behind them, in all parts, indelible traces of their juſt reſentment. Spaniards, Portugueſe, Engliſh, French, Dutch, all their tyrants will become the victims of fire and ſword. The plains of America will ſuck up with tranſport the blood which they have ſo long expected, and the bones of ſo many wretches, heaped upon one another, during the courſe of ſo many centuries, will bound for joy. The Old World will join its plaudits to thoſe of the New. In all parts the name of the hero, who ſhall have reſtored the rights of the human ſpecies, will be bleſt; in all parts trophies will be erected to his glory. Then will the *black code* be no more; and the *white code* will be a dreadful one, if the conqueror only regards the right of reprifals.

Till this revolution ſhall take place, the negroes groan under the oppreſſion of labours, the deſcription of which cannot but intereſt us more and more in their deſtiny.

*The culture of the ſoil of the American archipelago hath been hitherto neglected.*

The ſoil of the American iſlands hath little reſemblance to ours. Its productions are very different, as well as the manner of cultivating them. Except ſome pot-herbs, nothing is ſown there; every thing is planted.

Tobacco being the firſt production that was cultivated, as its roots do not ſtrike deep, and the leaſt injury deſtroys them, a ſimple harrow was only employed to prepare the lands which were to receive it, and to extirpate the noxious weeds which would have choked it. This cuſtom ſtill prevails.

When more troubleſome cultures began to be attended to, and which were leſs delicate, the hoe was made uſe of to work and weed; but it was not employed over the whole extent of ground that was to be cultivated. It was thought ſufficient to dig a hole for the reception of the plant.

The inequality of the ground, moſt commonly full of hillocs, probably gave riſe to this cuſtom. It might be apprehended, that the rains, which always fall in torrents, ſhould deſtroy, by the cavities they make, the land that had been turned up. Indolence, and the want of means at the time of the firſt ſettlements, extended this practice to the moſt level plains; and cuſtom, which no one ever thought of deviating from, gave a ſanction to it. At length ſome planters, who were adventurous enough to diſcard former prejudices, thought of uſing the plough; and it is probable that this method will become general wherever it ſhall be found practicable. It has every circumſtance in its favour that can make it deſirable.

All the lands of the iſlands were virgin lands, when the Europeans undertook to clear them. The firſt that were occupied, have for a long time yielded leſs produce than they did in the beginning. Thoſe which have been ſucceſſively cleared, are likewiſe more or leſs exhauſted, in proportion to the period of their firſt cultivation. Whatever their fertility at firſt might have been, they all loſe it in proceſs of time, and they will ſoon ceaſe to requite the labours of thoſe who cultivate them, if art be not exerted to aſſiſt nature.

It is a principle of agriculture generally admitted by naturaliſts, that the earth becomes fertile only in proportion as it can receive the influence of the air, and of all thoſe meteors which are directed by this powerful agent, ſuch as fogs, dews, and rains. Continual tillage can only procure this advantage to it: the iſlands in particular conſtantly require it. The wet ſeaſon muſt be choſen for turning up the ground, the dryneſs of which would be an impediment

to fertility. Ploughing cannot be attended with any inconvenience in lands that are level. One might prevent the danger of having ſhelving grounds deſtroyed by ſtorms, by making furrows tranſverſely, on a line that ſhould croſs that of the ſlope of the hillocs. If the declivity were ſo ſteep that the cultivated grounds could be carried away, notwithſtanding the furrows, ſmall drains, ſomething deeper, might be added for the ſame purpoſe at particular diſtances, which would partly break the force and velocity that the ſteepneſs of the hills adds to the fall of heavy rains.

The utility of the plough would not be merely limited to the producing a greater portion of the vegetable juice in plants; it would make their produce the more certain. The iſlands are the regions of inſects: their multiplication there is favoured by a conſtant heat, and one race ſucceeds another without interruption. The extenſive ravages they make are well known. Frequent and ſucceſſive ploughing would check the progreſs of this devouring race, diſturb their re-production, kill great numbers of them, and deſtroy the greateſt part of their eggs. Perhaps this expedient would not be ſufficient againſt the rats, which ſhips have brought from Europe into America, where they have increaſed to that degree, that they often deſtroy one third of the crops. The induſtry of ſlaves might alſo be called in to aſſiſt, and their vigilance might be encouraged by ſome gratification.

The uſe of the plough would probably introduce the cuſtom of manuring: it is already known on the greateſt part of the coaſt. The manure there in uſe is called varech, a kind of ſea-plant, which, when ripe, is detached from the water, and driven on the ſtrand by the motion of the waves: it is very productive of fertility; but if employed without previous preparation, it communicates to the ſugar a diſagreeable bitterneſs, which muſt ariſe from the ſalts that are impregnated with oily particles abounding in ſea plants. Perhaps, in order to take off this bitter taſte, it would only be neceſſary to burn the plant, and make uſe of the aſhes. The ſalts being by this operation detached from the oily particles, and triturated by vegetation, would circulate more freely in the ſugar-cane, and impart to it purer juices.

The interior parts of this country have not till lately been dunged. Neceſſity will make this practice become more

general; and in time the ſoil of America will be aſſiſted by the ſame methods of cultivation as the ſoil of Europe; but with more difficulty. In the iſlands, where herds of cattle are not ſo numerous, and where there is ſeldom the convenience of ſtables, it is to have recourſe to other kinds of manure, and multiply them as much as poſſible, in order to compenſate the quality by the quantity. The greateſt reſource will always be found in the weeds, from which uſeful plants muſt be conſtantly freed. Theſe muſt be collected together in heaps, and left to putrify. The coloniſts who cultivate coffee have ſet the example of his practice; but with that degree of indolence which the heat of the climate occaſions in all manual labour. A pile of weeds is heaped up at the bottom of the coffee-trees, without regarding whether theſe weeds, which they do not even take the trouble of covering with earth, heat the tree, and harbour the inſects that prey upon it. They have been equally negligent in the management of their cattle.

All the domeſtic quadrupeds of Europe were imported into America by the Spaniards; and it is from their ſettlements that the colonies of other nations have been ſupplied. Excepting hogs, which are found to thrive beſt in countries abounding with aquatic productions, inſects, and reptiles, and are become larger and better taſted, all theſe animals have degenerated, and the few that remain in the iſlands are very ſmall. Though the badneſs of the climate may contribute ſomething to this degeneracy, the want of care is perhaps the principal cauſe. They always lie in the open field. They never have either bran or oats given them, and are at graſs the whole year. The coloniſts have not even the attention of dividing the meadows into ſeparate portions, in order to make their cattle to paſs from one into the other. They always feed on the ſame ſpot, without allowing the graſs time to ſpring up again. Such paſtures can only produce weak and watery juices. Too quick a vegetation prevents them from being properly ripened. Hence the animals, deſtined for the food of man, afford only fleſh that is tough and flabby.

Thoſe animals, which are reſerved for labour, do but very little ſervice. The oxen draw but light loads, and that not all day long. They are always four in number. They are not yoked by the head, but by the neck, after the

Spanish cuſtom. They are not ſtimulated by the goad, but driven by a whip, and are directed by two drivers.

When the roads do not allow the uſe of carriages, mules are employed inſtead of oxen. Theſe are ſaddled after a ſimpler method than in Europe, but much inferior to it in ſtrength. A mat is fixed on their back, to which two hooks are ſuſpended on each ſide, the firſt that are caſually met with in the woods. Thus equipped, they carry, at moſt, half the weight that European horſes can bear, and go over but half the ground in the ſame time.

The pace of their horſes is not ſo ſlow: they have preſerved ſomething of the fleetneſs, fire, and docility, of thoſe of Andaluſia, from which they derived their pedigree; but their ſtrength is not anſwerable to their ſpirit. It is neceſſary to breed a great number of them, in order to obtain that ſervice which might be had from a ſmaller number in Europe. Three or four of them muſt be harneſſed to very light carriages uſed by indolent people for making excurſions, which they call journeys; but which with us would only be an airing.

The degeneracy of the animals in the iſlands might have been prevented, retarded, or diminiſhed, if care had been taken to renew them by a foreign race. Stallions brought from colder or warmer countries, would in ſome degree have corrected the influence of the climate, feed, and rearing. With the mares of the country they would have produced a new race far ſuperior, as they would have come from a climate different from that into which they were imported.

It is very extraordinary, that ſo ſimple an idea ſhould never have occurred to any of the planters; and that there has been no legiſlature attentive enough to its intereſts, to ſubſtitute in its ſettlements the biſon to the common ox. Every one who is acquainted with this animal, muſt recollect that the biſon has a ſofter and brighter ſkin, a diſpoſition leſs dull and ſtupid than our bullock, and a quickneſs and docility far ſuperior. It is ſwift in running, and when mounted can ſupply the place of a horſe. It thrives as well in ſouthern countries, as the ox that we employ loves cold or temperate climates. This ſpecies is known only in the eaſtern iſlands, and in the greater part of Africa. If cuſtom had leſs influence than it commonly has, even over the

wiſeſt governments, they would have been ſenſible that this uſeful animal was ſingularly well adapted to the great archipelago of America, and that it would be very eaſy to export it, at a very ſmall expence, from the Gold coaſt, or the coaſt of Angola.

Two rich planters, one in Barbadoes, the other in St. Domingo, equally ſtricken with the weakneſs of thoſe animals, which, according to eſtabliſhed cuſtom, were employed in drawing and carrying, endeavoured to ſubſtitute the camel to them. This experiment, formerly tried without ſucceſs in Peru by the Spaniards, did not ſucceed better here, nor was it poſſible it ſhould. It is well known, that though a native of hot countries, it dreads exceſſive heat, and can as little thrive as propagate under the burning ſky of the torrid zone, as in the temperate ones. It would have been better to have tried the buffalo.

The buffalo is a very dirty animal, and of a fierce diſpoſition. Its caprices are ſudden and frequent. Its ſkin is firm, light, and almoſt impenetrable, and its horns ſerviceable for many purpoſes. Its fleſh is black and hard, and diſagreeable to the taſte and ſmell. The milk of the female is not ſo ſweet, but much more copious than that of the cow. Reared like the ox, to which it hath a ſtriking reſemblance, it greatly ſurpaſſes it in ſtrength and ſwiftneſs. Two buffaloes yoked to a waggon by means of a ring paſſed through their noſe, will draw as much as four of the ſtouteſt bullocks, and in leſs than half the time. They owe this double ſuperiority to the advantage of having longer legs, and a more conſiderable bulk of body, the whole power of which is employed in drawing, becauſe they naturally carry their head and neck low. As this animal is originally a native of the torrid zone, and is larger, ſtronger, and more manageable in proportion to the heat of the country it is in, it cannot ever have been doubted that it would have been of great ſervice in the Caribbee iſlands, and have propagated happily there. This is highly probable, eſpecially ſince the ſucceſsful experiments that have been made of it at Guiana.

Indolence, and old eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, which have hindered the propagation of domeſtic animals, have no leſs impeded the ſucceſs of tranſplanting vegetables. Several kinds of fruit trees have been ſucceſſively carried to the

iſlands. Thoſe that have not died, are ſome wild ſtocks, the fruit of which is neither beautiful nor good. The greateſt part have degenerated very faſt, becauſe they have been expoſed to a very ſtrong vegetation, ever lively, and conſtantly quickened by the copious dews of the night and the ſtrong heats of the day, which are the two grand principles of fertility. Perhaps an intelligent obſerver would have known how to profit from theſe circumſtances, and have been able to raiſe tolerable fruit; but ſuch men are not found in the colonies. If our kitchen herbs have ſucceeded better; if they are always ſpringing up again, ever green and ripe; the reaſon is that they had not to ſtruggle againſt the climate, where they were aſſiſted by a moiſt and clammy earth, which is proper for them; and becauſe they required no trouble. The labour of the ſlaves is employed in the cultivation of more uſeful productions.

*The ſlaves are employed firſt to get their ſubſiſtence. Rich productions are afterwards expected from them.*

The principal labours of theſe unhappy men are directed towards thoſe objects that are indiſpenſable to the preſervation of their wretched exiſtence. Before their arrival in the iſlands, potatoes and yams grew without labour in the midſt of the foreſts. The potatoe is a ſpecies of convolvulus, which grows up gradually; the leaves of which are alternate, angular, and cordiform; and its flower reſembles in figure, and in the number of its parts, that of the ordinary convolvulus. The ſtem of the yam is climbing, herbaceous, furniſhed with oppoſite or alternate leaves, cut in the ſhape of a heart, and which ſhoot forth from their axillæ cluſters of male flowers on one ſtem, and female ones upon another, each provided with one calix that hath ſix diviſions. The male flowers have ſix ſtamina. The piſtil of the female flowers is ſurmounted with three ſtyles. It adheres to the calix, and becomes, along with it, a cloſe capſula, with three cells filled with two ſeeds. Theſe plants, which are ſufficiently multiplied by nature alone for the ſubſiſtence of a ſmall number of ſavages, muſt have been cultivated, when it became neceſſary to feed a more conſiderable population. This was accordingly reſolved upon, and other plants were joined to them, drawn from the country itſelf of the new conſumers.

Africa hath furniſhed the iſlands with a ſhrub, which grows to the height of four feet, lives four years, and is uſeful throughout its whole duration. Its leaves are compoſed of three ſmaller elongated leaves, united on one common petal. Its flowers, which are yellowiſh, and irregular, as thoſe of leguminous plants, are diſpoſed in cluſters at the extremity of the branches. It bears pods, which contain a number of a kind of pea, which is very wholeſome and very nouriſhing. This ſhrub is called the Angola pea. It flouriſhes equally in lands naturally barren, and in thoſe the ſalts of which have been exhauſted. For this reaſon, the beſt managers among the coloniſts never fail to ſow it on all thoſe parts of their eſtates, which in other hands would remain uncultivated.

The moſt valuable preſent, however, which the iſlands have received from Africa, is the manioc. Moſt hiſtorians have conſidered this plant as a native of America. It does not appear on what foundation this opinion is ſupported, though pretty generally received. But were the truth of it demonſtrated, the Caribbee iſlands would yet ſtand indebted for the manioc to the Europeans, who imported it thither along with the Africans, who fed upon it. Before our invaſions, the intercourſe between the continent of America and theſe iſles was ſo trifling, that a production of the continent might be unknown in the archipelago of the Antilles. It is certain, however, that the ſavages who offered our firſt navigators bananas, yams, and potatoes, offered them no manioc; that the Caribs in Dominica and St. Vincent had it from us; that the character of the ſavages did not render them fit to conduct a culture requiring ſo much attention; that this culture can only be carried on in very open fields; and that in the foreſts, with which theſe iſlands were overgrown, there were no clear and unencumbered ſpaces of ground above five and twenty toiſes ſquare. In ſhort, it was beyond a doubt, that the uſe of the manioc was not known till after the arrival of the negroes; and that from time immemorial it hath conſtituted the principal food of a great part of Africa.

However this may be, the manioc is a plant which is propagated by ſlips. It is ſet in furrows that are five or ſix inches deep, which are filled with the ſame earth that has been digged out. Theſe furrows are at the diſtance of two

feet, or two feet and a half, from each other, according to the nature of the ground. The ſhrub riſes a little above ſix feet, and its trunk is about the thickneſs of the arm. In proportion as it grows, the lower leaves fall off, leaving a ſemicircular impreſſion on the ſtem, and only a few remain towards the top: its wood is tender and brittle. They are always alternate, and deeply cut into ſeveral lobes. The extremity of the branches is terminated by cluſters of male and female flowers blended together. The calix of the firſt is in five diviſions, and contains ten ſtamina; that of the ſecond is compoſed of five pieces. The piſtil which they ſurround is ſurmounted with three hairy ſtyles, and becomes a rough capſula, with three diviſions, filled with three ſeeds. There is no part of the plant uſeful except the root, which is tuberoſe, and at the end of eight months, or more, grows to the ſize of a large radiſh. There are ſeveral varieties of them diſtinguiſhed, which differ in their bulk, their colour, and the time they take in coming to maturity. This is a delicate plant, and the culture of it is laborious; it is incommoded by the vicinity of every kind of herb, and it requires a dry and light ſoil.

When the roots have acquired their proper ſize and maturity, they are plucked up, and undergo various preparations, to render them fit for the food of man. Their firſt ſkin muſt be ſcraped, they muſt be waſhed, grated, and afterwards put in a preſs to extract the juice, which is conſidered as a very active poiſon. Any thing that might remain of the venomous principles they contained, is completely evaporated by roaſting. When they do not yield any more ſmoke, they are taken off the iron plate uſed for this operation, and ſuffered to cool.

The root of the manioc, grated and reduced into little grains by roaſting, is called flour of manioc. The paſte of manioc is called caſſava, which hath been converted into a cake by roaſting without ſtirring it. It would be dangerous to eat as much caſſava as flour of manioc, becauſe the former is leſs roaſted. Both keep a long time, and are very nouriſhing, but a little difficult of digeſtion. Though this food ſeems at firſt inſipid, there are a great number of white people who have been born in theſe iſlands, who prefer it to the beſt wheat. Moſt of the Spaniards in general uſe it conſtantly. The French feed their ſlaves with it. The

other European nations, who have ſettlements in the iſlands, are little acquainted with the maniac. It is from North America that theſe colonies receive their ſubſiſtence; ſo that if by any accident, which may very poſſibly take place, their connections with this fertile country were interrupted but for four months, they would be expoſed to periſh by famine. An avidity, that hath no bounds, makes the coloniſts of the iſlands inſenſible of this imminent danger. All, at leaſt the greater part, find their advantage in turning the whole induſtry of their ſlaves towards thoſe productions which are the objects of commerce. The principal of theſe are indigo, cochineal, cocoa, arnotto, cotton, coffee, and ſugar. We have mentioned the three firſt in the hiſtory of the regions under the dominion of Caſtile, and we will now deſcribe the reſt.

*Of the culture of arnotto.*

THE arnotto is a red dye, called by the Spaniards *achiote*, into which they dip the white wool, whatever colour they intend to give to it. The tree that yields this dye is as high, and more buſhy, than the plum-tree. It hath a reddiſh bark; its leaves are large, alternate, cordiform, and ſupplied at their baſe with two ſtipulæ or membranes, which fall off early. The flowers, diſpoſed in cluſters, have a calix of five diviſions, and ten petals of a ſlight purple colour, five of which are internal and ſmaller. They are found as well as a great number of ſtamina, under the piſtil, which is crowned with a ſingle ſtyle. The fruit is a capſula of a deep red colour, ſtuck with ſoft points, wide at its baſe, and narrowed at the top. It opens longitudinally into two great valves, furniſhed internally with a longitudinal receptacle, covered with ſeeds. Theſe ſeeds are done over with a red ſubſtance, which may be extracted from them, and which is, properly ſpeaking, the arnotto. This tree flowers and bears fruit twice a-year.

As ſoon as one of the eight or ten pods which each cluſter contains opens of itſelf, the reſt may be gathered. All the ſeeds are then to be taken out, and thrown directly into large troughs full of water. When the fermentation begins, the ſeeds muſt be ſtrongly ſtirred up with wooden ſpatulas, till the arnotto be entirely taken off. The whole is then poured into ſieves made of ruſhes, which retain

all the ſolid parts, and let out a thick, reddiſh, and fetid liquor, into iron coppers prepared to receive it. As it boils, the ſcum is ſkimmed off, and kept in large pans. When the liquor yields no more ſcum, it is thrown away as uſeleſs, and the ſcum poured back into the copper.

The ſcum, which is to be boiled for ten or twelve hours, muſt be conſtantly ſtirred with a wooden ſpatula, to prevent its ſticking to the copper, or turning black. When it is boiled enough, and ſomewhat hardened, it is ſpread upon boards to cool. It is then made up into cakes of two or three pounds weight, and the whole proceſs is finiſhed.

*Cultivation of cotton.*

The cotton ſhrub, that ſupplies our manufactures, requires a dry and ſtony ſoil, and thrives beſt in grounds that have already been tilled. Not but that the plant appears to thrive better in freſh lands, than in thoſe which are exhauſted; but while it produces more wood, it bears leſs fruit.

An eaſtern expoſition is fitteſt for it. The culture of it begins in March and April, and continues during the firſt ſpring rains. Holes are made at ſeven or eight feet diſtance from each other, and a few ſeeds thrown in. When they are grown to the height of five or ſix inches, all the ſtems are pulled up, except two or three of the ſtrongeſt. Theſe are cropped twice before the end of Auguſt. This precaution is the more neceſſary, as the wood bears no fruit till after the ſecond pruning; and if the ſhrub were ſuffered to grow more than four feet high, the crops would not be greater, nor the fruit ſo eaſily gathered.

This uſeful plant will not thrive, if great attention be not paid to pluck up the weeds which grow about it. Frequent rains will promote its growth, but they muſt not be inceſſant. Dry weather is particularly neceſſary in the months of March and April, which is the time of gathering the cotton, to prevent it from being diſcoloured and ſpotted.

In order to renew this ſhrub, it is cut every two or three years down to the root, which produces ſeveral ſprigs. Leaves grow upon them, with from three to five lobes, alternately diſpoſed upon the ſtems, and accompanied with

two ſtipulæ. At the end of eight or nine months, there appear ſome yellow flowers, ſtreaked with red, rather large, and reſembling the mallow flower in the ſtructure and the number of their parts. The piſtil, placed in the middle, becomes a pod, of the ſize of a pigeon's egg, with three or four cells. Each cell, on burſting, exhibits ſeveral roundiſh ſeeds, ſurrounded with a white kind of wadding, which is the cotton, properly ſo called. This burſting of the fruit indicates its maturity, and the time proper for gathering it.

When it is all gathered in, the ſeeds muſt be picked out from the wool. This is done by means of a cotton-mill, which is an engine compoſed of two rods of hard wood, about eighteen feet long, eighteen lines in circumference, and fluted two lines deep. They are confined at both ends, ſo as to leave no more diſtance between them than is neceſſary for the ſeed to ſlip through. At one end is a kind of little millſtone, which being put in motion with the foot, turns the rods in contrary directions. They ſeparate the cotton, and throw out the ſeed contained in it.

*Cultivation of coffee.*

The coffee-tree, originally the produce of Arabia, where nature, ſcantily ſupplying the neceſſaries of life, ſcatters its luxuries with a laviſh hand, was long the favourite plant of that fortunate country. The unſucceſsful attempts made by the Europeans in the cultivation of it, induced them to believe that the inhabitants of that country ſteeped the fruit in boiling water, or dried it in the oven, before they ſold it, in order to ſecure to themſelves a trade from which they derived moſt of their wealth. This opinion ſtill prevailed, till the tree itſelf had been conveyed to Batavia, and afterwards to the iſland of Bourbon, and to Surinam, when it was demonſtrated from experience, that the ſeed of the coffee tree, as well as of many other plants, will never come to any thing, unleſs it be put freſh into the ground.

This tree, which flouriſhes only in thoſe climates where the winters are extremely mild, hath ſmooth, entire, oval leaves, and ſharp like thoſe of the laurel; they are, moreover, oppoſite, and ſeparate at their baſe by an intermediate ſcale. The flowers, diſpoſed in rings, have a white corolla,

resembling that of jessamine, charged with five stamina, and bearing themselves upon the pistil, which being included in a calix of five divisions, becomes along with it a berry, which is at first green, and afterwards reddish, of the size of a small cherry, and filled with two kernels, or beans, of a hard, and as it were horny, substance. These kernels, which are externally convex, and flattened and furrowed on the side where they touch each other, yield, when they have been roasted and reduced to powder, a very agreeable infusion, fit to keep off sleep, and the use of which, anciently adopted in Asia, hath been insensibly spread over the greatest part of the globe.

The best and highest priced coffee is always that which comes from Arabia; but the islands of America, and the coasts of this New World, which have cultivated it from the beginning of this century, furnish a much greater quantity. It is not equally good everywhere. That which grows in a favourable soil, and in an eastern exposure, which enjoys the freshness of the dews and of the rains, and which is ripened by a moderate heat, is superior to any other.

The coffee plants are to be planted in holes of ten or twelve inches, and at intervals of six, seven, eight, or nine feet, according to the nature of the soil. They would naturally grow to the height of eighteen or twenty feet, but they are not allowed to exceed five, in order that their fruit may be conveniently gathered. When thus cropped, they spread their branches in such a manner as to intermix with each other.

Sometimes this tree rewards the labours of the cultivator as early as the third year, and at other times only at the fifth or sixth. Sometimes it doth not produce a pound of coffee, and at other times it yields as much as three or four pounds. In some places it does not last more than twelve or fifteen years, and in others five-and-twenty or thirty. These variations depend much upon the soil on which it is planted.

The coffee of America remained for a long time in a state of imperfection, which brought it into disgrace. No care was taken of it; but this negligence hath gradually diminished. It is only after having been well washed, and deprived of its gum, and after having received all

neceſſary preparations, that it is at preſent carried to the mill.

This mill is compoſed of two wooden rollers, furniſhed with plates of iron eighteen inches long, and ten or twelve in diameter. Theſe are moveable, and are made to approach a third, which is fixed, and which they call the chops. Above the rollers is a hopper, in which the coffee is put, from whence it falls between the rollers and the chops, where it is ſtripped of its ſkin, and divided into two parts, as may be ſeen by the form of it, after it hath undergone this operation, being flat on one ſide, and round on the other. From this machine it falls into a braſs ſieve, where the ſkin drops between the wires, while the fruit ſlides over them into baſkets, placed ready to receive it. It is then thrown into a veſſel full of water, where it ſoaks for one night, and is afterwards thoroughly waſhed. When the whole is finiſhed, and well dried, it is put into another machine, which is called the peeling mill. This is a wooden grinder, which is turned vertically upon its trendle by a mule or a horſe. In paſſing over the dried coffee, it takes off the parchment, which is nothing more than a thin ſkin, that detaches itſelf from the berry as it grows dry. The parchment being removed, it is taken out of the mill, to be winnowed in another, which is called the winnowing mill. This machine is provided with four pieces of tin, fixed upon an axle, which is turned by a ſlave with conſiderable force; and the wind that is made by the motion of theſe plates clears the coffee of all the pellicles that are mixed with it. It is afterwards put upon a table, where the broken berries, and any filth that may happen to remain, are ſeparated by the negroes. After theſe operations the coffee is fit for ſale.

The price of this berry was at firſt very trifling. The exceſſive paſſion that all Europe took for it raiſed its value exceedingly: and for that reaſon its cultivation was carried on with great alacrity, after the peace of 1763. The produce ſoon exceeded the conſumption, and for ſeveral years paſt all the planters have been ruined. They will not recover till after a proper equilibrium hath been eſtabliſhed; and it is not in our power to fix the period of this happy revolution.

*Cultivation of sugar.* The cane that yields the ſugar is a kind of reed, which commonly riſes eight or nine feet, and ſometimes higher, according to the nature of the ſoil. Its moſt common diameter is of one inch. It is covered with a rind, which is not very hard, and contains a kind of pulp, more or leſs compact, full of a ſweet and viſcid juice. It is interſected at intervals with joints, from which originate leaves, that are long, narrow, ſharp at their edges, and ſulcated at their baſis. The lower ones fall off as the ſtem grows. This is terminated by a ſilky pannicle, of a conſiderable ſize, every flower of which hath three ſtamina and one ſingle ſeed, covered with a two-leaved calix, with a ſhaggy ſurface.

This plant hath been cultivated from the earlieſt antiquity in ſome countries of Aſia and Africa. About the middle of the twelfth century, it became known in Sicily, from whence it paſſed into the ſouthern provinces of Spain. It was afterwards tranſplanted into Madeira and the Canaries. From theſe iſlands, it was brought into the New World, where it ſucceeded as well as if it had been indigenous there.

All ſoils are not equally proper for it. Such as are rich and ſtrong, low and marſhy, environed with woods, or lately cleared, however large and tall the canes may be, produce only a juice that is aqueous, inſipid, of a bad quality, difficult to be boiled, purified, and preſerved. Canes planted in a ground where they ſoon meet with ſoft ſtone or rock, have but a very ſhort duration, and yield but little ſugar. A light, porous, and deep ſoil, is by nature moſt favourable to this production.

The general method of cultivating it, is to prepare a large field; to make at the diſtance of three feet from one another, furrows eighteen inches long, twelve broad, and ſix deep; to lay in theſe two, and ſometimes three ſlips, of about a foot each, taken from the upper part of the cane, and to cover them lightly with earth. From each of the joints in the ſlips iſſues a ſtem, which in time becomes a ſugar-cane.

Care ſhould be taken to clear it conſtantly from the weeds, which never fail to grow around it. This labour only continues for ſix months. The canes then are ſufficiently thick, and near one another to deſtroy every thing that might be

prejudicial to their fertility. They are commonly suffered to grow eighteen months, and are seldom cut at any other time.

From the stock of these issue suckers, which are in their turn cut fifteen months after. This second cutting yields only half of the produce of the first. The planters sometimes make a third cutting, and even a fourth, which are always successively less, however good the soil may be. Nothing, therefore, but want of hands for planting afresh, can oblige a planter to expect more than two crops from his cane.

These crops are not made in all the colonies at the same time. In the Danish, Spanish, and Dutch settlements, they begin in January and continue till October. This method doth not imply any fixed season for the maturity of the sugar-cane. The plant, however, like others, must have its progress; and it hath been justly observed to be in flower in the months of November and December. It must necessarily follow from the custom these nations have adopted, of continuing to gather their crops for ten months without intermission, that they cut some canes which are not ripe enough, and others that are too ripe, and then the fruit hath not the requisite qualities. The time of gathering them should be at a fixed season, and probably the months of March and April are the fittest for it; because all the sweet fruits are ripe at that time, while the sour ones do not arrive to a state of maturity till the months of July and August.

The English cut their canes in March and April; but they are not induced to do this on account of their ripeness. The drought that prevails in their islands renders the rains which fall in September necessary to their planting; and as the canes are eighteen months in growing, this period always brings them to the precise point of maturity.

In order to extract the juice of the canes, when cut, which ought to be done in four-and-twenty hours, otherwise it would turn sour, they are passed between two cylinders of iron, or copper, placed perpendicularly on an immoveable table. The motion of the cylinders is regulated by a horizontal wheel, turned by oxen or horses; but in

water-mills this horizontal wheel derives its movement from a perpendicular one, the circumference of which meeting a current of water, receives an impreſſion which turns it upon its axis: this motion is from right to left, if the current of water ſtrike the upper part of the wheel; from left to right, if it ſtrike the lower part.

From the reſervoir, where the juice of the cane is received, it falls into a boiler, where thoſe particles of water are made to evaporate that are moſt eaſily ſeparated. This liquor is poured into another boiler, where a moderate fire makes it throw up its firſt ſcum. When it has left its clammy conſiſtence, it is made to run into a third boiler, where it throws up much more ſcum by means of an increaſed degree of heat. It then receives the laſt boiling in a fourth cauldron, the fire of which is three times ſtronger than the firſt.

This laſt fire determines the ſucceſs of the proceſs. If it hath been well managed, the ſugar forms cryſtals that are larger or ſmaller, more or leſs bright, in proportion to the greater or leſs quantity of oil they abound with. If the fire hath been too violent, the ſubſtance is reduced to a black and charcoal extract, which cannot produce any more eſſential ſalt. If the fire hath been too moderate, there remains a conſiderable quantity of extraneous oils, which ſtain the ſugar, and render it thick and blackiſh; ſo that when it is to be dried, it becomes always porous, becauſe the ſpaces which theſe oils filled up remain empty.

As ſoon as the ſugar is cool, it is poured into earthen veſſels of a conic figure; the baſe of the cone is open, and its top hath a hole, through which the water is carried off that hath not formed any cryſtals. This is called the ſyrup. After this water hath flowed through, the raw ſugar remains, which is rich, brown, and ſalt.

The greateſt part of the iſlands leave to the Europeans the care of giving ſugar the other preparations which are neceſſary to make it fit for uſe. This practice ſpares the expence of large buildings, leaves them more negroes to employ in agriculture, allows them to make their cultures without any interruption for two or three months together, and employs a greater number of ſhips for exportation.

The French planters alone have thought it their intereſt to manage their ſugars in a different manner. To whatever degree of exactneſs the juice of the ſugar-cane may be boiled, there always remains an infinite number of foreign particles attached to the ſalts of the ſugar, to which they appear to be what lees are to wine. Theſe give it a dead colour, and the taſte of tartar, of which they endeavour to deprive it, by an operation called earthing. This conſiſts in putting again the raw ſugars into a new earthen veſſel, in every reſpect ſimilar to that we have mentioned. The ſurface of the ſugar, throughout the whole extent of the baſis of the cone, is then covered with a white marl, on which water is poured. In filtering it through this marl, the water carries with it a portion of a calcareous earth, which it finds upon the different ſaline particles, when this earth meets with oily ſubſtances to which it is united. This water is afterwards drained off through the opening at the top of the mould, and a ſecond ſyrup is procured, which they call *molaſſes*, and which is ſo much the worſe, in proportion as the ſugar was finer: that is, contained leſs extraneous oil: for then the calcareous earth, diſſolved by the water, paſſes alone, and carries with it all its acrid particles.

This earthing is followed by the laſt preparation, which is effected by fire, and ſerves for the evaporating of the moiſture with which the ſalts are impregnated during the proceſs of earthing. In order to do this, the ſugar is taken in its whole form out of the conical veſſel of earth, and conveyed into a ſtove, which receives from an iron furnace a gentle and gradual heat, where it is left till the ſugar is become very dry, which commonly happens at the end of three weeks.

Though the expence which this proceſs requires be in general uſeleſs, ſince the earthed ſugar is commonly refined in Europe in the ſame manner as the raw ſugar, all the inhabitants of the French iſlands, however, who are able to purify their ſugars in this manner, generally take this trouble. To a nation whoſe navy is weak, this method is extremely advantageous, as it enables it, in times of war, to convey into its own mother-country the moſt valuable cargoes with a leſs number of ſhips than if only raw ſugars were ſent.

One may judge from the ſpecies of ſugars, but much better from that which has undergone the earthing, of what ſort of ſalts it is compoſed. If the ſoil where the cane hath been planted be hard, ſtony, and ſloping, the ſalts will be white, angular, and the grain very large. If the ſoil be marly, the colour will be the ſame; but the granulations, being cut on fewer ſides, will reflect leſs light. If the ſoil be rich and ſpongy, the granulations will be nearly ſpherical, the colour will be duſky, the ſugar will ſlip under the finger, without any unequal feel. This laſt kind of ſugar is conſidered as the worſt.

Whatever may be the reaſon, thoſe places that have a northern aſpect produce the beſt ſugar; and marly grounds yield the greateſt quantity. The preparations which the ſugar that grows in theſe kinds of ſoil require, are leſs tedious and troubleſome than thoſe which the ſugar requires that is produced in a rich land. But theſe obſervations admit of infinite variety, the inveſtigation of which is properly the province of chemiſts, or ſpeculative planters.

Beſide ſugar, the cane furniſhes ſyrup, the value of which is only a twelfth of that of the price of ſugars. The beſt ſyrup is that which runs from the firſt veſſel into the ſecond, when the raw ſugar is made. It is compoſed of the groſſer particles, which carry along with them the ſalts of ſugar, whether it contain or ſeparate them in its paſſage. The ſyrup of an inferior kind, which is more bitter, and leſs in quantity, is formed by the water which carries off the tartareous and earthy particles of the ſugar when it is waſhed. By means of fire, ſome ſugar is beſides extracted from the firſt ſyrup, which, after this operation, is of leſs value than the ſecond.

Both theſe kinds are carried into the north of Europe, where the people uſe them inſtead of butter and ſugar. In North America they make the ſame uſe of them, where they are further employed to give fermentation and an agreeable taſte to a liquor called *pruſt*, which is only an infuſion of the bark of a tree.

This ſyrup is ſtill more uſeful, by the ſecret that hath been diſcovered, of converting it by diſtillation into a ſpirituous liquor, which the Engliſh call *rum*, and the French *taffia*. This proceſs, which is very ſimple, is made by mixing a

third part of ſyrup with two thirds of water. When theſe two ſubſtances have ſufficiently fermented, which commonly happens at the end of twelve or fifteen days, they are put into a clean ſtill, where the diſtillation is made as uſual. The liquor that is drawn off is equal to the quantity of the ſyrup employed.

Such is the method which, after many experiments and variations, all the iſlands have generally adopted in the cultivation of ſugar. It is undoubtedly a good one; but, perhaps, it hath not acquired that degree of perfection of which it is capable. If, inſtead of planting canes in large fields, the ground were parcelled out into diviſions of ſixty feet, leaving between two planted diviſions a ſpace of land uncultivated, ſuch a method would probably be attended with great advantages. In the modern practice, none but the canes which grow on the borders are good, and attain to a proper degree of maturity. Thoſe in the middle of the field in part miſcarry, and ripen badly, becauſe they are deprived of a current of air, which only acts by its weight, and ſeldom gets to the foot of theſe canes, that are always covered with the leaves.

In this new ſyſtem of plantation, thoſe portions of land which had not been cultivated would be moſt favourable for reproduction; when the crops of the planted diviſions had been made, which in their turn would be left to recover. It is probable that by this method as much ſugar might be obtained as by the preſent practice; with this additional advantage, that it would require fewer ſlaves to cultivate it. One may judge what the cultivation of ſugar would then produce, by what it now yields, notwithſtanding its imperfections.

On a plantation fixed on a good ground, and ſufficiently ſtocked with negroes, with cattle, and all other neceſſaries, two men will cultivate a ſquare of canes that is a hundred geometrical paces in every direction. This ſquare muſt yield, on an average, ſixty quintals of raw ſugar. The common price of a quintal in Europe will be twenty livres [16s. 8d.] after deducting all the expences. This makes an income of 600 livres [25l.] for the labour of each man. One hundred and fifty livres [6l. 5s.] to which the price of ſyrup and rum muſt be added, will defray the expences of cultivation; that is to ſay, for the maintenance of ſlaves,

for their loſs, for their diſorders, for their clothes, for repairing their utenſils, and other accidents. The nett produce of an acre and a half of land will then be four hundred and fifty livres [18l. 15s.] It would be difficult to find a culture productive of greater emoluments.

It may be objected, that this is ſtating the produce below its real value, becauſe a ſquare of canes doth not employ two men. But thoſe who would urge ſuch an objection ought to obſerve, that the making of ſugar requires other labours beſides thoſe of merely cultivating it, and conſequently workmen employed elſewhere than in the fields. The eſtimate and compenſation of theſe different kinds of ſervice oblige us to deduct from the produce of a ſquare of plantation the expence of maintaining two men.

It is chiefly from the produce of ſugar that the iſlands ſupply their planters with all the articles of convenience and luxury. They draw from Europe flour, liquors, ſalt proviſions, ſilks, linens, hardware, and every thing that is neceſſary for apparel, food, furniture, ornament, convenience, and even luxury. Their conſumptions of every kind are prodigious, and muſt neceſſarily influence the manners of the inhabitants, the greateſt part of whom are rich enough to ſupport them.

*Character of the Europeans ſettled in the American iſlands.*

It ſhould ſeem that the Europeans, who have been tranſplanted into the American iſlands, muſt no leſs have degenerated than the animals which they carried over thither. The climate acts on all living beings; but men being leſs immediately ſubject to the laws of nature, reſiſt her influence the more, becauſe they are the only beings who act for themſelves. The firſt coloniſts who ſettled in the Antilles corrected the activity of a new climate and a new ſoil, by the conveniences which it was in their power to derive from a commerce that was always open with their former country. They learnt to lodge and maintain themſelves in a manner the beſt adapted to their change of ſituation. They retained the cuſtoms of their education, and every thing that could agree with the natural effects of the air they breathed. With theſe they carried into America the food and cuſtoms of Europe, and familiariſed to ſuch other beings and pro-

dactions which nature had separated by an interval of the same extent as a zone. But of all the primitive customs, the most salutary, perhaps, was that of mingling and dividing the two races by intermarriages.

All nations, even the least civilized, have proscribed an union of sexes between the children of the same family; whether it was that experience or prejudice dictated this law, or chance led them to it. Beings brought up together in infancy, accustomed to see one another continually, in this mutual familiarity rather contract that indifference which arises from habit, than that lively and impetuous sensation of sympathy which suddenly affects two beings who never saw one another. If, in the savage life, hunger disunites families, love undoubtedly must have reunited them. The history, whether true or fabulous, of the rape of the Sabine women, shews that marriage was the first alliance between nations. Thus the blood will have become gradually intermixed, either by the casual meetings occasioned by a wandering life, or by the conventions and agreements of settled communities. The natural advantage of crossing the breed among men, as well as animals, in order to preserve the species from degenerating, is the result of slow experience, and is posterior to the acknowledged utility of uniting families, in order to cement the peace of society. Tyrants soon discovered how far it was proper for them to separate, or connect their subjects, in order to keep them in a state of dependence. They formed men into separate ranks, by availing themselves of their prejudices; because this line of division between them became a bond of submission to the sovereign, who maintained his authority by their mutual hatred and opposition. They connected families to each other in every station, because this union totally extinguished every spark of dissension repugnant to the spirit of civil society. Thus the intermixture of pedigrees and families by marriage, hath been rather the result of political institutions, than formed upon the views of nature.

But whatever be the natural principle and moral tendency of this custom, it was adopted by Europeans, who were desirous of multiplying in the islands. The greatest part of them either married in their own country before they removed into the New World, or with those who landed

there. The European married a creole, or the creole an European, whom chance or family connections brought into America. From this happy aſſociation hath been formed a peculiar character, which in the two worlds diſtinguiſhes the man born under the ſky of the New; from parents originally natives of both. The marks of this character will be pointed out with ſo much the more certainty, as they are taken from the writings of an acurate obſerver, from whom we have already drawn ſome particulars reſpecting natural hiſtory.

The creoles are in general well made. There is ſcarce a ſingle perſon among them afflicted with thoſe deformities which are ſo common in other climates. They have all an extreme ſuppleneſs in their limbs; whether it is to be attributed to a particular organization adapted to hot countries, to the cuſtom of their being reared without the confinement of ſwaddling clothes and ſtays, or to the exerciſes they are habituated to from their infancy. Their complexion, however, never has that air of vivacity and freſhneſs, which contributes more to beauty than regular features do. As to their colour, when they are in health, it reſembles that of perſons juſt recovering from a fit of illneſs; but this lived complexion, more or leſs dark, is nearly that of our ſouthern people.

Their intrepidity in war hath been ſignalized by a ſeries of bold actions. There would be no better ſoldiers, if they were more capable of being diſciplined.

Hiſtory does not afford any of thoſe inſtances of cowardice, treachery, and meanneſs among them, which ſully the annals of all nations. It can hardly be alleged that a creole ever did a mean action.

All ſtrangers, without exception, find in the iſlands the moſt friendly and generous hoſpitality. This uſeful virtue is practiſed with a degree of oſtentation, which ſhews, at leaſt, the honour they attach to it. Their natural propenſity to beneficence baniſhes avarice; and the creoles are generous in their dealings.

They are ſtrangers to diſſimulation, craft, and ſuſpicion. The pride they take in their frankneſs, the opinion they have of themſelves, together with their extreme vivacity, exclude from their commercial tranſactions all that myſtery and reſerve which ſtifles natural goodneſs of diſpoſition,

extinguiſhes the ſocial ſpirit, and dimmiſhes our ſenſibility.

A warm imagination, incapable of any reſtraint, renders them independent and inconſtant in their taſte. It perpetually hurries them with freſh ardour into pleaſures, to which they ſacrifice both their fortune and their whole exiſtence.

A remarkable degree of penetration, a quick facility in ſeizing all ideas, and expreſſing themſelves with vivacity; the power of combining, added to the talent of obſervation; a happy mixture of all the qualities of the mind and of the heart, which render men capable of the greateſt actions, will make them attempt every thing when oppreſſion compels them to it.

The ſharp and ſaline air of the Caribbee iſlands deprives the women of that lively colour which is the beauty of their ſex. But they have an agreeable and fair complexion, which does not deprive the eyes of all that vivacity and power that enables them to convey into the ſoul ſuch ſtrong impreſſions as are irreſiſtible. As they are extremely ſober, they drink nothing but chocolate, coffee, and ſuch ſpiritous liquors as reſtore to the organs their tone and vigour, enervated by the climate; while the men are continually drinking in proportion to the heat that exhauſts them.

They are very prolific, and often mothers of ten or twelve children. This fertility ariſes from love, which ſtrongly attaches them to their huſbands; but which alſo throws them inſtantly into the arms of another, whenever death hath diſſolved the union of a firſt or ſecond marriage.

Jealous even to diſtraction, they are ſeldom unfaithful. That indolence which makes them neglect the means of pleaſing, the taſte which the men have for negro women, their particular manner of life, whether private or public, which precludes the opportunities or temptations to gallantry; theſe are the beſt ſupports of the virtue of theſe females.

The ſolitary kind of manner in which they live in their houſes, gives them an air of extreme timidity, which embarraſſes them in their intercourſe with the world. They loſe, even in early life, the ſpirit of emulation and choice; and this prevents them from cultivating the agreeable ta-

lents of education. They ſeem to have neither power nor taſte for any thing but dancing, which undoubtedly tranſports and animates them to higher pleaſures. This inſtinct of pleaſure attends them through their whole life; whether it be, that they ſtill retain ſome ſhare of their youthful ſenſibility, or are ſtimulated with the recollection of it; or from other reaſons which are unknown to us.

From ſuch a conſtitution ariſes an extremely ſenſible and ſympathiſing character, ſo that they cannot even bear the ſight of miſery; though they are, at the ſame time, rigid and ſevere with reſpect to the offices they require of thoſe domeſtics that are attached to their ſervice. More deſpotic and inexorable towards their ſlaves than the men themſelves, they feel no remorſe in ordering chaſtiſements, the ſeverity of which would be a puniſhment and a leſſon to them, if they were obliged to inflict them themſelves, or were witneſſes to them.

This ſlavery of the negroes is, perhaps, the cauſe from whence the creoles in part derive a certain character, which makes them appear ſtrange, fantaſtic, and of an intercourſe not much reliſhed in Europe. From their earlieſt infancy they are accuſtomed to ſee a number of tall and ſtout men about them, whoſe buſineſs it is to conjecture and anticipate their wiſhes. This firſt view muſt immediately inſpire them with the moſt extravagant opinion of themſelves. Seldom meeting with any oppoſition to their caprice, though ever ſo unreaſonable, they aſſume a ſpirit of preſumption, tyranny, and diſdain, for a great part of mankind. Nothing is more inſolent than the man who always lives with his inferiors; but when theſe happen to be ſlaves, habituated to wait upon children, to dread even their cries, which muſt expoſe them to puniſhment, what muſt maſters become who have never obeyed; wicked men, who have never been puniſhed; and madmen, who are uſed to put their fellow-creatures in irons?

So cruel an example of dependence gives the Americans that pride which muſt neceſſarily be deteſted in Europe, where a greater equality prevailing among men, teaches them a greater ſhare of mutual reſpect. Educated without knowing either pain or labour, they are neither able to ſurmount difficulties nor bear contradiction. Nature hath given them every advantage, and fortune refuſed them no-

thing. In this reſpect, like moſt kings, they are unhappy, becauſe they have never experienced adverſity. If the climate did not ſtrongly excite them to love, they would be ignorant of every real pleaſure of the ſoul: and yet they ſeldom have the happineſs of forming an idea of thoſe paſſions, which, thwarted by obſtacles and refuſals, are nouriſhed with tears and gratified with virtue. If they were not confined by the laws of Europe, which govern them by their wants, and repreſs or reſtrain the extraordinary degree of independence they enjoy, they would fall into a ſoftneſs and effeminacy, which would in time render them the victims of their own tyranny, or would involve them in a ſtate of anarchy, that would ſubvert all the foundations of their community.

But if they once ceaſed to have negroes for ſlaves, and kings who live at a diſtance from them for maſters, they, perhaps, would become the moſt aſtoniſhing people that ever appeared on earth. The ſpirit of liberty which they would imbibe from their earlieſt infancy; the underſtanding and abilities which they would inherit from Europe; the activity, which the neceſſity of repelling numerous enemies would inſpire; the large colonies they would have to form; the rich commerce they would have to found on an immenſe cultivation; the ranks and ſocieties they would have to create; and the maxims, laws, and manners, they would have to eſtabliſh on the principles of reaſon: all theſe ſprings of action would, perhaps, make of an equivocal and miſcellaneous race of people, the moſt flouriſhing nation that philoſophy and humanity could wiſh for the happineſs of the world.

If ever any fortunate revolution ſhould take place in the world, it will begin in America. After having experienced ſuch deva[illegible]ation, this New World muſt flouriſh in its turn, and, perhaps, command the Old. It will become the aſylum of our people who have been oppreſſed by political eſtabliſhments or driven away by war. The ſavage inhabitants will be civilized, and oppreſſed ſtrangers will become free. But it is neceſſary that this change ſhould be preceded by conſpiracies, commotions, and calamities; and that a hard and laborious education ſhould prediſpoſe their minds both to act and to ſuffer.

Young creoles, come into Europe to exerciſe and prac-

tiſe what we teach you; there to collect, in the valuable remains of our ancient manners, that vigour which we have loſt; there to ſtudy our weakneſs, and draw from our follies themſelves thoſe leſſons of wiſdom which produce great events; leave in America your negroes, whoſe condition diſtreſſes us, and whoſe blood, perhaps, is mingled in all thoſe ferments which alter, corrupt, and deſtroy our population. Fly from an education of tyranny, effeminacy, and vice, which you contract from the habit of living with ſlaves, whoſe degraded ſtation inſpires you with none of thoſe elevated and virtuous ſentiments, which can only give riſe to a people that will become celebrated. America hath poured all the ſources of corruption on Europe. To complete its vengeance, it muſt draw from it all the inſtruments of its proſperity. As it hath been deſtroyed by our crimes, it muſt be renewed by our vices.

Nature ſeems to have deſtined the Americans to a greater ſhare of happineſs than the inhabitants of Europe. They have ſcarce any illneſs, except inflammations in the lungs, and pleuriſies, which are almoſt as common in the iſlands as in all other regions, where the tranſitions from heat to cold are frequent and ſudden. The gout, gravel, ſtone, apoplexies, and a multitude of other ſcourges of the human race, which are ſo fatal in other countries, have never made the leaſt ravages there. If the air of the country can be withſtood, and the middle age be attained to, this is ſufficient to inſure a long and happy life. There old age is not weak, languiſhing, and beſet with thoſe infirmities which affect it in our climate.

*Diſeaſes to which the Europeans are ſubject in the iſlands of America.*

In the Caribbee iſlands, however, newborn infants are attacked with a diſeaſe which ſeems peculiar to the torrid zone; it is called *tetanos*. If a child receive the impreſſion of the air or wind, if the room where it is juſt born be expoſed to ſmoke, to too much heat or cold, the diſorder ſhews itſelf immediately. It firſt ſeizes the jaw, which becomes rigid and fixed, ſo as not to be opened. This ſpaſm ſoon communicates itſelf to the other parts of the body; and the child dies for want of being able to take nouriſhment. If it eſcape this danger, which threatens the nine firſt days of its

exiſtence, it has nothing to fear. The indulgences which are allowed to children before they are weaned, which is at the end of the twelve months, ſuch as the uſe of coffee, chocolate, wine, but eſpecially ſugar and ſweetmeats; theſe indulgences that are ſo pernicious to our children, are offered to thoſe of America by nature, which accuſtoms them in early age to the productions of their climate.

The fair ſex, naturally weak and delicate, has its infirmities as well as its charms. In the iſlands they are ſubject to a weakneſs, an almoſt total decay of their ſtrength; an unconquerable averſion for all kind of wholeſome food, and an irregular craving after every thing that is prejudicial to their health. Salt or ſpiced food is what they only reliſh and deſire. This diſeaſe is a true cachexy, which commonly degenerates into a dropſy. It is attributed to the diminution of the menſes in thoſe women who come from Europe, and to the weakneſs or total ſuppreſſion of that periodical diſcharge in creoles. It might ſtill more properly be attributed to the exceſſive heat, and the immoderate dampneſs of the climate, which at length deſtroys every ſpring in the animal economy.

The men, more robuſt, are liable to more violent complaints. In this vicinity of the equator, they are expoſed to a hot and malignant fever, known under different names, and indicated by hæmorrhages. The blood, which is boiling under the fervent rays of the ſun, is diſcharged from the noſe, eyes, and other parts of the body. Nature, in temperate climates, does not move with ſuch rapidity, but that in the moſt acute diſorders there is time to obſerve and follow the courſe ſhe takes. In the iſlands, her progreſs is ſo rapid, that if we delay to attack the diſorder as ſoon as it appears, its effects are certainly fatal. No ſooner is a perſon ſeized with ſickneſs, but the phyſician, the lawyer, and the prieſt, are all called to his bed-ſide.

The ſymptoms of this terrible illneſs ſeem to indicate the neceſſity of bleeding. This operation hath therefore been repeated without meaſure. Several experiments have at length demonſtrated that this expedient was fatal. Remedies are now preferred which are capable of moderating this great rarefaction of the blood, and which tend to the diſſolution of it, ſuch as bathing, glyſters, oxycrate, and even bliſters, when the diſorder is attended with delirium. We

have known a profeſſional man of great underſtanding, who thought that the immediate cauſe of this malady was the intenſe heat of the ſun; and who affirmed, that thoſe who did not expoſe themſelves to it, moſt commonly eſcaped this calamity.

Moſt of thoſe who ſurvive theſe attacks recover very ſlowly and with difficulty. Several fall into an habitual languor, occaſioned by the debility of the whole machine, which the noxious air of the country, and the little nouriſhment their food ſupplies, are not able to reſtore. Hence obſtructions, jaundice, and ſwellings of the ſpleen, are produced, which ſometimes terminate in dropſies.

Almoſt all the Europeans who go over to America are expoſed to this danger, and frequently the creoles themſelves, on their return from more temperate climates. But it never attacks women whoſe blood has the natural evacuations, and negroes, who, born under a hotter climate, are inured by nature, and prepared by free perſpiration, for all the ferments that the ſun can produce.

Theſe violent fevers are certainly owing to the heat of the ſun, the rays of which are leſs oblique, and more conſtant, than in our climates. This heat muſt undoubtedly thicken the blood, through the exceſs of perſpiration, a want of elaſticity in the ſolids, and a dilatation of the veſſels by the impulſe of the fluids, whether in proportion to the rarefaction of the air, or the leſs degree of compreſſion which the ſurface of the bodies is expoſed to in a rarefied atmoſphere.

Far from having recourſe to theſe expedients, which are known to be preventives of the diſorder, the inhabitants fall into ſuch exceſſes are moſt likely to haſten and increaſe it. The ſtrangers who arrive at the Caribbee iſlands, are excited by the entertainments they are invited to, the pleaſures they partake of, and the kind reception they meet with; every thing induces them to an immoderate indulgence in all the pleaſures which cuſtom renders leſs prejudicial to thoſe who are born under this climate. Feaſting, dancing, gaming, late hours, wine, cordials, and frequently the chagrin of diſappointment in their chimerical expectations, conſpire to add to the ferment of an immoderate heat of the blood, which ſoon becomes inflamed.

With ſuch indulgence, it is ſcarce poſſible to reſiſt the

heats of this climate, when even the greateſt precautions are not ſufficient to ſecure perſons from the attack of theſe dangerous fevers; when the moſt ſober and moderate men, who are the moſt averſe from every kind of exceſs, and the moſt careful of all their actions, are victims to the new air they breathe. In the preſent ſtate of the colonies, of ten men that go into the iſlands, four Engliſh die, three French, three Dutch, three Danes, and one Spaniard.

When it was obſerved how many men were loſt in theſe regions, at the time they were firſt occupied, it was generally thought, that the ſtates who had the ambition of ſettling there would be depopulated in the end.

*Advantages of theſe nations that are in poſſeſſion of the American iſlands.*

Experience hath altered the public opinion upon this point. In proportion as theſe colonies have extended their plantations, they have had freſh means of expence. Theſe have opened to their mother country new ſources of conſumption. The increaſe in exportations could not take place without an increaſe of labour. Theſe labours have brought together a greater number of men, which will ever be the caſe when the means of ſubſiſtence are multiplied. Even foreigners have reſorted in great multitudes to theſe kingdoms, which opened a vaſt field to their ambition and induſtry.

Population hath not only increaſed among the proprietors of the iſlands, but the people have alſo become more happy. Our felicity in general is proportioned to our conveniences, and it muſt increaſe as we can vary and extend them. The iſlands have been productive of this advantage to their poſſeſſors. They have drawn from theſe fertile regions a number of commodities, the conſumption of which hath added to their enjoyments. They have acquired ſome, which, when exchanged for others among their neighbours, have made them partake of the luxuries of other climates. In this manner, the kingdoms which have acquired the poſſeſſion of the iſlands, by fortunate circumſtances, or by well-combined projects, are become the reſidence of the arts, and of all the polite amuſements which are a natural and neceſſary conſequence of great plenty.

But this is not the only advantage: theſe colonies have raiſed the nations that founded them, to a ſuperiority of influence in the political world, by the following means: Gold and ſilver, which form the general circulation of Europe, come from Mexico, Peru, and Brazil. They belong neither to the Spaniards nor the Portugueſe, but to people who give their merchandize in exchange for theſe metals. Theſe people have commercial tranſactions with each other, that are ultimately ſettled at Liſbon and Cadiz, which may be looked upon as a common and univerſal repoſitory. It is in theſe places that one muſt judge of the increaſe or decline of the trade of each nation. That nation, whoſe accounts of ſale and purchaſe are kept in balance with the reſt, receives the whole intereſt of its capital. That which hath purchaſed more than it hath ſold, withdraws leſs than its intereſt; becauſe it hath ceded a part of it, in order to ſatisfy the demands of the nation to which it was indebted: that which hath ſold more to other nations than it hath purchaſed of them, does not only get what was owing from Spain and Portugal, but alſo the profit it hath derived from other nations with which it hath made exchanges. This laſt advantage is peculiar to the people who poſſeſs the iſlands. Their ſpecie is annually increaſed by the ſale of the valuable productions of theſe countries; and the augmentation of their ſpecie confirms their ſuperiority, and renders them the arbiters of peace and war. But we ſhall explain, in the following books, how far each nation hath increaſed its power by the poſſeſſion of the iſlands.

# BOOK XII.

## SETTLEMENTS OF THE SPANIARDS, THE DUTCH, AND THE DANES, IN THE AMERICAN ISLANDS.

I WAS going to ſay, that Spain had the glory of having diſcovered the great archipelago of America, and of having formed the firſt ſettlements there, when I was checked by the conſideration, that the diſcovery of it could not poſſibly have been glorious to the Spaniards, unleſs it had been advantageous to the Antilles. *Definition of true glory.*

Glory is a ſentiment which raiſes us in our own eyes, and which increaſes our conſideration among enlightened men. The idea of it is inſeparably connected with thoſe of a great difficulty overcome, of great utility ſubſequent to ſucceſs, and of equal increaſe of felicity for the univerſe or for one's country. Whatever mark of genius I may acknowledge in the invention of any deſtructive weapon, I ſhould excite a juſt indignation, were I to ſay, that ſuch a man, or ſuch a nation, had the glory of having invented it. Glory, at leaſt according to the ideas I have formed of it, is not the reward of the greateſt ſucceſs in the ſciences. If you invent a new calculation, compoſe a ſublime poem, or if you have excelled Cicero or Demoſthenes in eloquence, Thucydides or Tacitus in hiſtory, celebrity may be granted to you, but not glory. Neither is it any more to be obtained by the ſuperiority of talents in the arts. Let us ſuppoſe, that from the block of marble you have cut out either the Gladiator, or the Apollo Belvidere; that your pencil hath painted the transfiguration; or that your ſimple, expreſſive, and melodious airs have equalled you with Pergoleſi; you will then enjoy a high reputation, but no glory. I will go further: if you ſhould equal Vauban in the art of fortification, Turenne and Condé in that of commanding armies; if you ſhould gain battles, and conquer provinces, all theſe actions are undoubtedly great, and your name will be tranſmitted to the remoteſt poſterity, but glory is reſerved for other qualities. We do not acquire glory by adding to that of our nation. A man may be the honour of his

corps, without being the glory of his country. A private man may aſpire to reputation, to fame, and to immortality; but there are none but rare circumſtances, and a fortunate hazard, that can conduct him to glory.

Glory belongs to God in heaven. Upon earth, it is the lot of virtue, and not of genius; of uſeful, great, beneficent, ſplendid, and heroic virtue. It is the lot of the monarch, who, throughout the courſe of a tumultuous reign, hath attended to the happineſs of his ſubjects, and hath attended to it with ſucceſs. It is the lot of a ſubject, who ſhall have ſacrificed his life for the preſervation of his fellow-citizens. It is the lot of a people, who ſhall have choſen rather to die free, than to live enſlaved. It is the lot, not of a Cæſar or of a Pompey, but of a Regulus or of a Cato. It is the lot of a Henry IV.

It is owing to the ſpirit of humanity which philoſophy hath infuſed into the minds of all enlightened people, that conquerors, as well ancient as modern, are now put upon a level with the moſt abhorred claſs of mankind. And I doubt not but that poſterity, which will judge with impartiality of the diſcoveries we have made in the New World, will rank our navigators ſtill below them. For, have they been guided by their regard for the human race, or by cupidity? And though an enterpriſe be in itſelf a good one, can it be laudable, if the motive of it be vicious?

*Idea that muſt be formed of the iſland of Trinidad.*

The iſland which the Spaniards firſt met with on their arrival in America, is called Trinidad. Columbus landed on it in 1498, when he diſcovered the Oroonoko; but other objects interfering, both the iſland, and the coaſts of the neighbouring continent, were at that time neglected.

It was not till 1535, that the court of Madrid took poſſeſſion of the iſland of Trinidad, which is ſituated facing the mouth of the Oroonoko, as it were to moderate the rapidity of this river. It is ſaid to comprehend three hundred and eighteen ſquare leagues. It hath never experienced any hurricane, and its climate is wholeſome. The rains are very abundant there from the middle of May to the end of October: and the dryneſs that prevails throughout the reſt of the year is not attended with any inconvenience, becauſe

the country, though deſtitute of navigable rivers, is very well watered. The earthquakes are more frequent than dangerous. In the interior part of the iſland there are four groups of mountains, which, together with ſome others formed by nature upon the ſhores of the ocean, occupy a third part of the territory. The reſt is in general ſuſceptible of the richeſt cultures.

The form of the iſland is ſquare. To the north is a coaſt of twenty-two leagues in extent, too much elevated, and too much divided, ever to be of any uſe. The eaſtern coaſt is only nineteen leagues in extent, but in all parts as convenient as one could wiſh it to be. The ſouthern coaſt hath five-and-twenty leagues, is a little exalted, and adapted for the ſucceſsful cultivation of coffee and cacao. The land on the weſtern ſide is ſeparated from the reſt of the colony, to the ſouth by the Soldiers-Canal, and to the north by the Dragons-Mouth, and forms, by means of a receſs, a harbour of twenty leagues in breadth and thirty in depth. It offers in all ſeaſons a ſecure aſylum to the navigators, who, during the greateſt part of the year, would find it difficult to anchor anywhere elſe, except at the place called the Galiote.

In this part are the Spaniſh ſettlements. They conſiſt only of the port of Spain, upon which there are ſeventy-eight thatched huts; and of Saint Joſeph, ſituated three leagues further up the country, where eighty families, ſtill more wretched than the former, are computed.

The cacao was formerly cultivated near theſe two villages. Its excellence made it be preferred even to that of Caraccas. In order to ſecure it the merchants uſed to pay for it beforehand. The trees that produced it periſhed all in 1727, and have not been replanted ſince. The monks attributed this diſaſter to the coloniſts having refuſed to pay the tithes. Thoſe who were not blinded by intereſt or ſuperſtition, aſcribed it to the north winds, which have too frequently occaſioned the ſame kind of calamity in other parts. Since this period, Trinidad hath not been much more frequented than Cubagua.

*Account of Cubagua, and of its pearls.*

This little iſland, at the diſtance of four leagues only from the continent, was diſcovered, and neglected, by Columbus, in 1498. The Spaniards, being afterwards

informed that its ſhores contained great treaſures, repaired to it in multitudes in 1509, and gave it the name of Pearl iſland.

The pearl is a hard ſhining body, more or leſs white, commonly of a round form, and which is found in ſome ſhells, but more frequently in that which is known by the name of mother-of-pearl. This rich production of nature is moſtly attached to the inſide of the ſhell; but it is moſt perfect when found in the animal itſelf, which lives in the ſhell.

The ancients were in an error with reſpect to the origin of the pearl, as well as with regard to many other phenomena, which we have obſerved and underſtood better, and which we have explained more ſatisfactorily. Let us not deſpiſe them the more on this account, neither let us be more vain. Their miſtakes ſometimes diſplay a degree of ſagacity, and have not been entirely uſeleſs to us. They have been the firſt ſteps of ſcience, which time, the efforts of human genius, and a number of fortunate and caſual circumſtances, were to improve. Attempts have been made to tear the veil that covers nature, before it was lifted up.

The Greeks and the Romans uſed to ſay, that the ſhell-fiſh raiſed itſelf every morning to the ſurface of the waters, and received the dew, which was changed into pearl. This agreeable idea hath ſhared the fate of numberleſs fables of the ſame kind, when the ſpirit of obſervation had made it known, that this ſhell-fiſh remained always at the bottom of the ſea, or fixed to the rocks where it had been formed; and when ſound philoſophy had demonſtrated, that it was impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe.

It hath ſince been imagined, that pearls muſt be the eggs, or the ſperm of the fiſh incloſed in the ſhell. But this idea hath likewiſe fallen into diſcredit, when it hath been fully known, that the pearls were found in all parts of the animal; and when, after the moſt accurate inveſtigations, anatomy hath not been able to diſcover the organs calculated for generation in this fiſh, which ſeems to add one to the claſs of hermaphroditical animals.

At length, after a variety of ſyſtems lightly adopted, and ſucceſſively abandoned, it hath been imagined that pearls were produced from a diſeaſe in the animal; and

that they were formed by a liquor extravaſated from ſome veſſels, and detained between the membranes, or ſpread along the interior ſurface of the ſhell. This conjecture hath been ſtill more confirmed to accurate obſervers, in proportion as it hath been aſcertained that theſe treaſures were not to be found indiſcriminately in all the fiſh; that thoſe which had them were not ſo well taſted as the others; and that the coaſts upon which this rich fiſhery was carried on were in general unwholeſome.

Black pearls, ſuch as are inclining to black, or ſuch as are of a lead colour, are univerſally deſpiſed. In Arabia, and in ſome other parts of the eaſt, the yellow pearls are eſteemed. But the white ones are preferred in Europe, and throughout the greateſt part of the globe. It is regretted only that they begin to grow yellow after half a century.

Although pearls had been diſcovered in the ſeas of the Eaſt Indies and in thoſe of America, yet their price was ſufficiently kept up to induce people to counterfeit them. The imitation was at firſt coarſe. It was glaſs covered with mercury. Attempts have been repeated, and in proceſs of time, nature hath been ſo well copied, that it was eaſy to be miſled. The artificial pearls, which are made at preſent with wax and ichthyocol, have much the advantage of the others. They are cheap; and are made of every ſize and ſhape, to ſuit the women who uſe them for ornament.

This diſcovery was unknown when the Spaniards ſettled at Cubagua. They arrived there with ſome ſavages of the Lucaya iſlands, who had not been found proper for the labours of the mines, but who had the faculty of remaining a long time under water with great eaſe. This talent procured to their oppreſſors a great quantity of pearls. Theſe pearls were not ſpoiled, as thoſe had been which had been hitherto collected by the Americans, who were only acquainted with the mode of fire for opening the ſhell that contained them. They were preſerved in all their beauty, and found an advantageous mart. But this ſucceſs was momentary. The pearl bank was ſoon exhauſted; and the colony was transferred, in 1524, to Margaretta, where the regretted riches were found, and from whence they diſappeared almoſt as ſoon.

*Ideas reſpecting Margaretta.*

YET this laſt ſettlement, which is fifteen leagues in length and five in breadth, was not abandoned. It is almoſt continually covered with thick fogs, although nature hath not beſtowed upon it any current waters. There is no village in it except Mon Padre, which is defended by a ſmall fort. Its ſoil would be fruitful if it were cultivated.

It was almoſt generally ſuppoſed, that the court of Madrid, in preſerving Margaretta and Trinidad, meant rather to keep off rival nations from this continent, than to derive any advantage from them. At preſent we are induced to think otherwiſe. Convinced that the archipelago of America was full of inhabitants loaded with debts, or who poſſeſſed but a ſmall quantity of indifferent land, the council of Charles III hath offered great conceſſions, in theſe two iſlands, to thoſe who ſhould embrace their faith. The freedom of commerce with all the Spaniſh traders was inſured to them. They were only obliged to deliver their cacao to the company of Caraccas, but at twenty-ſeven ſols [about 1s. 1½d.] per pound, and under the condition that this company ſhould advance them ſome capital. Theſe overtures have only met with a favourable reception at Granada, from whence ſome Frenchmen have made their eſcape with a few ſlaves, either to ſcreen themſelves from the purſuits of their creditors, or from averſion to the ſway of the Engliſh. In every other part, they have had no effect, whether from averſion for an oppreſſive government, or whether it be that the expectations of all are at preſent turned towards the north of the New World.

Trinidad and Margaretta are at preſent inhabited only by a few Spaniards, who, with ſome Indian women, have formed a race of men, who, uniting the indolence of the ſavage to the vices of civilized nations, are ſluggards, cheats, and zealots. They live upon maize, upon what fiſh they catch, and upon bananas, which nature, out of indulgence as it were to their ſlothfulneſs, produces there of a larger ſize, and better quality, than in any other part of the archipelago. They have a breed of lean and taſteleſs cattle, with which they carry on a fraudulent traffic to the French colonies, exchanging them for camblets, black veils, linen, ſilk ſtockings, white hats, and hard-ware. The number

of their veſſels does not exceed thirty ſloops, without decks.

The tame animals of theſe two iſlands have filled the woods with a breed of horned cattle, which are become wild. The inhabitants ſhoot them, and cut their fleſh into ſlips of three inches in breadth and one in thickneſs, which they dry, after having melted the fat out of them, ſo that they will keep three or four months. This proviſion, which is called taſſajo, is ſold in the French ſettlements for twenty livres [16s. 8d.] a hundred weight.

All the money which the government ſends to theſe two iſlands, falls into the hands of the commandants, the officers civil and military, and the monks. The remainder of the people, who do not amount to more than ſixteen hundred, live in a ſtate of the moſt deplorable poverty. In time of war they furniſh about two hundred men, who, for the ſake of plunder, offer themſelves, without diſtinction, to any of the colonies that happen to be fitting out cruizers for ſea. The inhabitants of Porto-Rico are of a different turn.

*Conqueſt of Porto-Rico by the Spaniards.*

ALTHOUGH this iſland had been diſcovered and viſited by Columbus in 1493, the Spaniards neglected it till 1509, when the thirſt of gold brought them thither from St. Domingo, under the command of Ponce de Leon, to make a conqueſt, which afterwards coſt them dear.

It is generally known, that the uſe of poiſoned arms is of the higheſt antiquity. In moſt countries, it preceded the invention of ſteel. When darts headed with ſtones, bones of fiſh or other animals, proved inſufficient to repel the attacks of wild beaſts, men had recourſe to poiſonous juices, which, from being originally deſigned merely for the chaſe, were afterwards employed in the wars of conquering or ſavage people againſt their own ſpecies. Ambition and revenge ſet no limits to their outrages, till ages had been ſpent in drowning whole nations in rivers of blood. When it was diſcovered that this effuſion of blood produced no advantage, and that, in proportion as the ſtream ſwelled in its courſe, it depopulated countries, and left nothing but deſerts without animation and without culture; they then

came to an agreement to moderate, in ſome degree, the thirſt of ſhedding it. They eſtabliſhed what are called the laws of war; that is to ſay, injuſtice in injuſtice, or the intereſt of kings in the maſſacre of the people. They do not now cut the throats of all their victims at once; but reſerve ſome few of the herd to propagate the breed. Theſe laws of war, or of nations, required the abolition of certain abuſes in the art of killing. Where fire-arms are to be had, poiſoned weapons are forbidden; and, when cannon balls will anſwer the end, chewed bullets are not allowed. O! race, unworthy both of heaven or earth, deſtructive, tyrannical being, man, or devil rather, wilt thou never ceaſe to torment this globe, where thou exiſteſt but for a moment? Will thy wars never end but with the annihilation of thy ſpecies? Go then; if thou wouldſt advance thy miſchief, go and provide thyſelf with the poiſons of the New World.

Of all the regions productive of venomous plants, none abounded ſo much in them as South America, which owed this malignant fertility to a ſoil in general rank, as if it were purging itſelf from the ſlime of a deluge.

The plants called lianes, of which there were vaſt numbers in all damp and marſhy places, furniſhed the poiſon, which was in univerſal requeſt on the continent. The method of preparing it was by cutting them in pieces, then boiling them in water, till the liquor had acquired the conſiſtence of a ſyrup. After this, they dipped their arrows in it, which were immediately impregnated with the poiſonous quality. During ſeveral ages, the ſavages in general uſed theſe arms in their wars with each other. At length many of thoſe nations, from the deficiency of their numbers, found the neceſſity of renouncing ſo deſtructive a weapon, and reſerved it for beaſts, whether large or ſmall, which they could not overtake or overcome. Any animal, whoſe ſkin has been raiſed with one of theſe poiſoned arrows, dies a minute after, without any ſign of convulſion or pain. This is not occaſioned by the coagulation of the blood, which was a long time the general opinion; recent experiments have proved, that this poiſon, mixed with blood newly drawn and warm, prevents it from coagulating, and even preſerves it ſome time from putrefaction. It is probable, that the effect of theſe juices is upon the nervous ſyſ-

tem. Some travellers have imputed the origin of the venereal diſeaſe, among the inhabitants of the New World, to the habit of eating game killed with theſe poiſoned arms. At preſent it is univerſally known, that the fleſh of ſuch animals may be eaten for a continuance without any ill effect.

In the American iſlands, the natives draw their poiſon from trees, more than from the lianes; and of all the venomous ſorts of trees, the moſt deadly is the manchineel.

This tree is rather lofty, and uſually grows by the water ſide. It hath the figure and leaves of the pear tree. Its trunk, which is of a compact, heavy, veiny wood, fit for joiners work, is covered with a ſmooth and tender bark. It bears two ſpecies of flowers. Some are male, and diſpoſed in catkins at the extremity of the branches. They have in each calix but one thread ſurmounted with two antheræ. The female flowers are ſingle. Their piſtil becomes a ſtraight fleſhy fruit, of the form of a fig or a pear, and containing a very hard kernel, in which are five or ſix ſeeds in ſo many different cells. In all parts of the tree, and eſpecially between the trunk and the bark, a milky juice is found, which is conſidered as a very ſubtle poiſon, and which renders the cultivation of this tree, and even the coming near to it, very dangerous. One cannot ſleep with impunity under the ſhade of it, and the water which drops from its leaves after a ſhower, raiſes bliſters upon the ſkin, and excites a troubleſome itching. The juice of the manchineel is received into ſhells, placed under various inciſions that have been made in its trunk. As ſoon as this juice is grown a little thick, the points of the arrows are ſteeped in it, which acquire from thence the property of conveying ſudden death, be the wound ever ſo ſlight. This poiſon, as it appears from experience, preſerves its venomous quality above a hundred years. Of all the ſpots where this fatal tree is found, Porto-Rico is that in which it delights moſt, and where it is found in the greateſt abundance. Why were not the firſt conquerors of America all ſhipwrecked on this iſland? It is the misfortune of both worlds that they became acquainted with it ſo late, and that they did not there meet with the death which their avarice merited.

The mancheneel ſeems to have been fatal only to the Americans. The inhabitants of the iſland where it grows, uſed it to repel the Caribs who made frequent deſcents on their coaſts. The ſame arms they might have employed againſt the Europeans; and, as the Spaniards were ignorant at that time that ſalt, applied immediately, is an infallible cure, they would probably have fallen a ſacrifice to the firſt effects of this poiſon. But they did not meet with the leaſt reſiſtance from the ſavage inhabitants of the iſland. Theſe had been informed of what had occurred in the conqueſt of the neighbouring iſles; and they regarded theſe ſtrangers as a ſuperior order of beings, to whoſe chains they voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves. It was not long, however, before they wiſhed to ſhake off the intolerable yoke which had been impoſed on them, and poſtponed the enterpriſe only till they could be aſſured whether their tyrants were immortal. A cacique, named Broyoan, was intruſted with this commiſſion.

Chance favoured his deſign, by bringing to him Salzedo, a young Spaniard, who was travelling. He received him with great reſpect, and at his departure ſent ſome Indians to attend him on his way, and to ſerve him in the quality of guides. When they came to the bank of a river, which they were to paſs, one of theſe ſavages took him on his ſhoulder to carry him over. As ſoon as they had got into the midſt of it, he threw him into the water, and, with the aſſiſtance of his companions, kept him there till there was no appearance of life. They then dragged him to the bank, but, as they were ſtill in doubt whether he was dead or living, they begged pardon a thouſand times for the accident that had happened. This farce laſted three days; till at length being convinced, by the ſtench of the corpſe, that it was poſſible for Spaniards to die, the Indians roſe on all ſides upon their oppreſſors, and maſſacred a hundred of them.

Ponce de Leon immediately aſſembled all the Caſtilians who had eſcaped, and, without loſs of time, fell upon the ſavages, who were terrified with this ſudden attack. In proportion as the number of their enemies increaſed, their panic became more violent. They had even the folly to believe, that theſe Spaniards, which were juſt arrived from

St. Domingo, were the ſame that had been killed, and were come to life again to fight them. Under this ridiculous perſuaſion, dreading to continue a war with men who revive after their death, they ſubmitted once more to the yoke, and being condemned to the mines, in a ſhort time fell victims to the toils of ſlavery.

*Preſent ſtate of Porto-Rico.*

Porto-Rico hath thirty-ſix leagues in length, eighteen in breadth, and one hundred in circumference. We may venture to affirm, that it is one of the beſt, if not entirely the beſt, of the iſlands of the New World, in proportion to its extent. The air is wholeſome, and tolerably temperate, and it is watered by the pure ſtreams of a conſiderable number of ſmall rivulets. Its mountains are covered with either uſeful or valuable trees, and its valleys have a degree of fertility ſeldom to be met with elſewhere. All the productions peculiar to America thrive upon this deep ſoil. A ſafe port, commodious harbours, and coaſts of eaſy acceſs, are added to theſe ſeveral advantages.

On this territory, deprived of its ſavage inhabitants by ferocious deeds, the memory of which three centuries have not been able to obliterate, was ſucceſſively formed a population of forty-four thouſand eight hundred and eighty-three men, either white or of a mixed race. Moſt of them were naked. Their habitations were nothing more than huts. Nature, with little or no aſſiſtance, ſupplied them with ſubſiſtence. The linens, and ſome other things of little value, which they clandeſtinely obtained from the neighbouring or from foreign iſlands, were paid for by the colony with tobacco, cattle, and with the money which was ſent by government for the ſupport of the civil, religious, and military, eſtabliſhment. They received from the mother country, annually, only one ſmall veſſel, the cargo of which did not amount to more than ten thouſand crowns [1,250l.] and which returned to Europe laden with hides.

Such was Porto-Rico, when, in 1765, the court of Madrid carried their attention to St. John, an excellent harbour, even for the royal navy, and which only wants a little more extent. The town which commands it, was

ſurrounded with fortifications. The works were made particularly ſtrong towards a narrow and marſhy neck of land, the only place by which the town can be attacked on the land ſide. Two battalions, and one company of artillery, croſſed the ſea for its defence.

At this period, a poſſeſſion which had annually received from the treaſury no more than 378,000 [15,750l.] coſt them 2,634,433 livres [109,768l. 10d.] which ſum was regularly brought from Mexico. This increaſe of ſpecie ſtimulated the coloniſts to undertake ſome labours. At the ſame time, the iſland, which till then had been under the yoke of monopoly, was allowed to receive all Spaniſh navigators. Theſe two circumſtances united, imparted ſome degree of animation to a ſettlement, the languiſhing ſtate of which aſtoniſhed all nations. Its tithes, which before 1765 did not yield more than 81,000 livres [3,375l.] have increaſed to 230,418 livres [9,680l. 15s.]

On the firſt of January 1778, the population of Porto-Rico amounted to fourſcore thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty inhabitants, of which number only ſix thouſand five hundred and thirty were ſlaves. The inhabitants reckoned ſeventy-ſeven thouſand three hundred and eighty-four head of horned cattle, twenty-three thouſand one hundred and ninety-five horſes, fifteen hundred and fifteen mules, and forty-nine thouſand fifty-eight head of ſmall cattle.

The plantations, the number of which were five thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-one, produced two thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-ſeven quintals of ſugar; eleven hundred and fourteen quintals of cotton; eleven thouſand one hundred and ſixty-three quintals of coffee; nineteen thouſand five hundred and fifty-ſix quintals of rice; fifteen thouſand two hundred and ſixteen quintals of maize; ſeven thouſand four hundred and fifty-eight quintals of tobacco; and nine thouſand eight hundred and ſixty quintals of melaſſes.

The cattle in the ſeveral paſture grounds, which were two hundred and thirty-four in number, produced annually eleven thouſand three hundred and ſixty-four oxen; four thouſand three hundred and thirty-four horſes; nine hundred and fifty-two mules; thirty-one thouſand two hundred and fifty-four head of ſmall cattle.

All this is very trifling; but great expectations are raiſed from an arrangement which hath lately been made. No one citizen of Porto-Rico was in reality maſter of his poſſeſſions. The commanders who had ſucceeded each other, had only granted the income of them. This inconceivable defect hath at length been remedied. The proprietors hath been confirmed in their poſſeſſions, by a law of 14th of January 1778, upon condition of paying annually one real and a quarter, or ſixteen ſols ſix deniers [8¾d.] for every portion of ground of twenty-five thouſand ſeven hundred and eight toiſes, which they employed in cultures; and three quarters of a real, or ten ſols one denier and a half [rather above 5d.] for that part of the ſoil that is reſerved for paſture ground. This eaſy tribute is to ſerve for the clothing of the militia, compoſed of one thouſand nine hundred infantry, and two hundred and fifty cavalry. The remainder of the iſland is diſtributed on the ſame conditions to thoſe who have little or no property. Theſe laſt, who are diſtinguiſhed by the name of *agregés*, are ſeven thouſand eight hundred and thirty-five in number. *Means which would render Porto-Rico flouriſhing.*

This plan will not accompliſh the revolution which is expected by the council of Spain; although, contrary to the preciſe determination of the laws, every coloniſt who chooſes to eſtabliſh ſugar plantations, is allowed to call in the aſſiſtance of any foreigner who is able to teach him that kind of culture. Theſe coloniſts ought to be authorized to ſell openly to the French, the Dutch, the Engliſh, and the Danes, the cattle which they have been hitherto obliged to diſpoſe of in a clandeſtine manner only.

Man ſuffers, only becauſe he knows not how to put an end to his pain. If he ſhould languiſh in miſery, it is merely from being incapable of changing his ſituation. It would be a groſs error to imagine, that in a ſtate of nature we can ſee man in perpetual agitation, inceſſantly obſerving and making all kinds of experiments, as we ſee him in a civilized ſtate. Experience hath proved, that it requires ages for him to emerge from his natural torpid ſtate; and that when once his induſtry is ſubject to a certain invariable mode of proceeding, and from the ſmall number of his wants, reſtrained within narrow and circumſcribed limits, it

will never be roused of itself. What method can then be contrived to shorten the duration of his indolence, of his stupidity, and of his misery? For this purpose, he must be made acquainted with active beings, and must be placed in constant intercourse with laborious people. He will soon open his eyes with astonishment; he will soon be conscious that he likewise hath had hands given to him, and will scarce conceive how it could have been possible, that the idea of making use of them should not have occurred to him sooner. The sight of the enjoyments that are obtained by labour, will inspire him with the desire of partaking of them, and he will work. Invention is peculiar to genius, and imitation is peculiar to man. It is by imitation that all scarce things have become, and will hereafter become, common. This is the propensity which the court of Madrid ought to encourage, if not from motives of humanity, at least from the prospect of the political advantages they might expect to reap from it.

Matters perhaps might, and indeed ought to, be carried still further. Let Spain declare Porto-Rico a neutral island, and let this neutrality be acknowledged by all the powers that have any possessions in America. Let the lands, which are not yet cultivated, be granted to enterprising men of all nations, who shall have a capital sufficient to establish cultures. Let persons, lands, and productions, be exempted from all taxes for the space of fifty years, or more. Let the harbours be opened indiscriminately to all traders, free from customs, from restraints, and from formalities. Let no other troops be kept but those necessary for the police; and let these be foreign troops. Let a very plain code of laws be drawn up, suitable to a state of husbandmen, or of merchants. Let the citizens themselves be the magistrates, or the magistrates be chosen by them. Let property, that first and great basis of all political societies, be established upon unmoveable foundations. Before half a century shall be elapsed, Porto-Rico will most undoubtedly be one of the most flourishing colonies of the New World. It may then again become, without inconvenience, a truly national possession. Its abundant productions, which will have cost neither care, expence, anxiety, nor war to Spain, will increase the mass of national riches, and the public revenue.

But if even this plan of adminiſtration were the inſpiration of wiſdom itſelf; if it were dictated by the moſt certain views of intereſt; if the ſucceſs of it could be geometrically proved, yet it would never be carried into execution; and for this reaſon: It is becauſe it hath not been ſuggeſted by a native of Spain, and that it ſuppoſes the concurrence of foreigners. No country can do any thing of itſelf; and yet, from a deteſtable, puerile, and ridiculous, vanity, we wiſh to do every thing by ourſelves; we are blind, and yet we will not receive light from others. In monarchical ſtates, the way to exclude an able man from an important ſituation, is to anticipate, by popular choice, the appointment of the court; and this is a mode which hatred and jealouſy ſeldom fail of employing. The ſame method would ſucceed as certainly between the reſpective courts. In order to prevent a miniſter from purſuing any wiſe meaſure, nothing more is neceſſary, than that another miniſter ſhould aſſume, by divulging it, the credit of having firſt thought of it himſelf. Nothing is more ſcarce, than to find among miniſters of the ſame court, one citizen, great, honeſt, and good enough, to purſue a project begun by his predeceſſor. Thus do abuſes become perpetual in the nation. Thus is every thing begun, and nothing accompliſhed, from motives of a fooliſh kind of pride, the influence of which extends itſelf over all the branches of adminiſtration, which ſuſpends the progreſs of civilization, and would have ſettled all nations in a ſtate of barbariſm, had their chiefs been conſtantly, and at all times, equally affected by it.

If, however, the meaſures we have ventured to propoſe to the court of Madrid ſhould appear to them liable to inconveniences, which may have eſcaped our notice, they might at leaſt derive from themſelves part of thoſe advantages which we ſhould be happy to ſee them obtain. The navigation to the Spaniſh Indies is forbidden to the Biſcayans. As their ports are freed, both on the going out and coming in of the ſhips, from the duties which are impoſed upon all the other ports, the government have been apprehenſive that they might obtain too great a ſuperiority over the ſubjects of the monarchy, who do not enjoy the ſame privileges. Let Porto-Rico be opened to theſe active men, where their competition cannot be prejudicial to rivals who

have never attended to this trade, and the iſland will ſoon acquire ſome degree of importance. The ſame arrangement might be extended to St. Domingo.

*What were the events that occaſioned St. Domingo to degenerate from the ſplendour to which it had been raiſed.*

THIS iſland, famous for being the earlieſt ſettlement of the Spaniards in the New World, was at firſt in high eſtimation for the quantity of gold it ſupplied. This wealth diminiſhed with the inhabitants of the country, whom they obliged to dig it out of the bowels of the earth; and the ſource of it was entirely dried up, when the neighbouring iſlands no longer ſupplied the loſs of theſe wretched victims to the avarice of the conqueror. A vehement deſire of opening again this ſource of wealth, inſpired the thought of getting ſlaves from Africa; but, beſides that theſe were found unfit for the labours they were deſtined to, the multitude of mines, which then began to be wrought on the continent, made thoſe of St. Domingo no longer of any importance. An idea now ſuggeſted itſelf, that their negroes, which were healthy, ſtrong, and patient, might be uſefully employed in huſbandry; and they adopted, through neceſſity, a wiſe reſolution, which, had they known their own intereſt, they would have embraced by choice.

The produce of their induſtry was at firſt extremely ſmall, becauſe the labourers were few. Charles V, who, like moſt ſovereigns, preferred his favourites to his ſubjects, had granted an excluſive right of the ſlave trade to a Flemiſh nobleman, who made over his privilege to the Genoeſe. Thoſe avaricious republicans conducted this infamous commerce as all monopolies are conducted; they reſolved to ſell dear, and they ſold but little. When time and competition had fixed the natural and neceſſary price of ſlaves, the number of them increaſed. It may eaſily be imagined, that the Spaniards, who had been accuſtomed to treat the Indians as beaſts, though they differed but little in complexion from themſelves, did not entertain a higher opinion of theſe negro Africans, who were ſubſtituted to them. Degraded ſtill further in their eyes by the price they had paid for them, even religion could not reſtrain them from aggravating the weight of their ſervitude. It became intolerable,

and theſe wretched ſlaves made an effort to recover the unalienable rights of mankind. Their attempt proved unſucceſsful; but they reaped this benefit from their deſpair, that they were afterwards treated with leſs inhumanity.

This moderation (if tyranny, cramped by the apprehenſion of revolt, can deſerve that name) was attended with good conſequences. Cultivation was purſued with ſome degree of ſucceſs. Soon after the middle of the ſixteenth century, the mother country drew annually from this colony ten millions weight of ſugar, a large quantity of wood for dying, tobacco, cocoa, caſſia, ginger, cotton, and peltry in abundance. One might imagine, that ſuch favourable beginnings would give both the deſire and the means of extending this trade; but a train of events, each more fatal than the other, ruined theſe ſhips.

The firſt misfortune aroſe from the depopulation of St. Domingo. The Spaniſh conqueſts on the continent ſhould naturally have contributed to promote the ſucceſs of an iſland, which nature ſeemed to have formed to be the centre of that vaſt dominion ariſing round it, to be the ſtaple of the different colonies: but it happened quite otherwiſe. On a view of the immenſe fortunes raiſing in Mexico and other parts, the richeſt inhabitants of St. Domingo began to deſpiſe their ſettlements, and quitted the true ſource of riches, which is, in a manner, on the ſurface of the earth, to go and ranſack the bowels of it for veins of gold, which are ſoon exhauſted. The government endeavoured in vain to put a ſtop to this emigration; the laws were always either artfully eluded or openly violated.

The weakneſs, which was a neceſſary conſequence of ſuch a conduct, leaving the coaſts without defence, encouraged the enemies of Spain to ravage them. Even the capital of this iſland was taken and pillaged by that celebrated Engliſh ſailor, Francis Drake. The cruiſers of leſs conſequence contented themſelves with intercepting veſſels in their paſſage through thoſe latitudes, the beſt known at that time of any in the New World. To complete theſe misfortunes, the Caſtilians themſelves commenced pirates. They attacked no ſhips but thoſe of their own nation, which were more rich, worſe provided, and worſe defended, than any others. The cuſtom they had of fitting out ſhips clandeſtinely, in

order to procure ſlaves, prevented them from being known; and the aſſiſtance they purchaſed from the ſhips of war, commiſſioned to protect the trade, inſured to them impunity.

The foreign trade of the colony was its only reſource in this diſtreſs; and that was prohibited; but as it was ſtill carried on, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the governors, or perhaps by their connivance, the policy of an exaſperated and unenlightened court exerted itſelf in demoliſhing moſt of the ſea-ports, and driving the miſerable inhabitants into the inland country. This act of violence threw them into a ſtate of dejection, which the incurſions and ſettlement of the French on the iſland afterwards carried to the utmoſt pitch.

Spain, totally taken up with that vaſt empire which ſhe had formed on the continent, uſed no pains to diſſipate this lethargy. She even refuſed to liſten to the ſolicitations of her Flemiſh ſubjects, who earneſtly preſſed that they might have permiſſion to clear thoſe fertile lands. Rather than run the riſk of ſeeing them carry on a contraband trade on the coaſts, ſhe choſe to bury in oblivion a ſettlement which had been of conſequence, and was likely to become ſo again.

*Preſent ſtate of the Spaniſh portion of St. Domingo.*

THIS colony, which had no longer any intercourſe with the mother country, but by a ſingle ſhip of no great burthen, received from thence every third year, conſiſted in 1717 of eighteen thouſand four hundred and ten inhabitants, including Spaniards, meſtees, negroes, or mulattoes. The complexion and character of theſe people differed according to the different proportions of American, European, and African, blood they had received from that natural and tranſient union which reſtores all races and conditions to the ſame level; for love is not more a reſpecter of perſons than death. Theſe demi-ſavages, plunged in the extreme of ſloth, lived upon fruits and roots, dwelt in cottages without furniture, and had moſt of them no clothes. The few among them, in whom indolence had not totally ſuppreſſed the ſenſe of decency and taſte for the conveniences of life, purchaſed clothes of their neighbours the French, in return for their

cattle, and the money ſent to them for the maintenance of two hundred ſoldiers, the prieſts, and the government. The company formed at Barcelona in 1757, with excluſive privileges for the re-eſtabliſhment of St. Domingo, hath had no ſucceſs. Since that iſland hath been opened, in 1766, to all Spaniſh navigators, it hath ſtill remained in the ſame ſtate. The quantity of ſugar canes, of coffee trees, and of tobacco, which may have been planted there, is not ſufficient for its own conſumption, far from being able to contribute to that of the mother country. The colony furniſhes annually to the national trade no more than five or ſix thouſand hides, and ſome proviſions, of ſo little value, that they ſcarce deſerve to be reckoned.

This deficiency of cultivation is univerſally felt in the iſland. Sant Yago, La Vega, Seibo, and other places in the inland parts, formerly ſo renowned for their riches, are no longer any thing more than obſcure hamlets, where nothing revives the memory of their ancient ſplendour.

The coaſts do not exhibit a more animated appearance. To the ſouth of the colony is the narrow and deep bay of Ocoa, which might be called a harbour. It is in this place where the Spaniards have no ſettlements, although they are near a ſalt-pit which is ſufficient for their neceſſities, that the ſilver which is ſent from Mexico for the expences of government is depoſited, and from whence it is conveyed upon horſes to St. Domingo, which is at no more than fifteen leagues diſtance.

This famous capital of the iſland received for a long time its neceſſaries directly from foreigners; but at that period the Lozama, with which its walls are watered, was able to admit veſſels of ſix hundred tons burthen. Since the mouth of this river hath been almoſt choked by the ſands, and by the ſtones it brings away from the mountains, the town is not in a better condition than the harbour; and magnificent ruins are the only remains of it. The country that ſurrounds it exhibits nothing but briars, and a ſmall number of cattle.

The river Macouſſis runs fourteen leagues above that place, where the few American veſſels that come to trade in the iſland are uſed to land. They diſembark their ſmall cargoes by means of a few little iſlands, which afford a tolerable ſhelter.

Further on, but ſtill on the ſame coaſt, the Rumana runs through the moſt beautiful plains that can poſſibly be conceived. Nevertheleſs, there is nothing to be found upon this extenſive and fertile ſoil, except one hamlet, which would have a miſerable appearance, even in thoſe countries that are the moſt ill-treated by nature.

The north of the colony is no better than the ſouth. Porto de Plata, the beauty and excellence of which it would be difficult to exaggerate, preſents only a few huts, in its numerous creeks, and on its rich territory.

The Iſabellica, which hath a beautiful river, immenſe plains, and foreſts filled with precious woods, doth not exhibit a more flouriſhing appearance.

With as many, or even with more, means of proſperity, Monte-Chriſto is nothing more than a ſtaple, where Engliſh ſmugglers come habitually to take in the commodities of ſome French plantations, ſettled in the neighbourhood. The hoſtilities between the courts of London and Verſailles render the fraudulent connections infinitely more conſiderable; and this mart acquires at that time a great degree of importance. But this incipient animation ceaſes, as ſoon as the miniſtry of Madrid think it ſuitable to their intereſts to take a part in the diſputes between the two rival nations.

The Spaniards have no ſettlement in the weſtern part of the iſland, which is entirely occupied by the French; and it is only ſince the laſt war that they have thought of ſettling to the eaſtward, which they had long entirely neglected.

The project of cultivation might be carried into execution in the plain of Vega-Real, which is ſituated in the inland part, and is fourſcore leagues in length, by ten in its greateſt breadth. It would be difficult to find, throughout the New World, a ſpot more level, more fruitful, or better watered. All the productions of America would ſucceed admirably there; but it would be impoſſible to remove them from thence without making roads; which is an undertaking that would alarm a people more enterpriſing than the Spaniards. Theſe difficulties ſhould naturally have led them to fix their attention on ſome exceeding good coaſts, already a little inhabited, and where ſome ſubſiſtence would have been found. Probably it was apprehend-

ed that the new coloniſts would adopt the manners of the old, and therefore Samana was determined upon.

Samana is a peninſula, five leagues broad, and ſixteen long; the ſoil of which, though rather uneven, is very fit for the richeſt productions of the New World. It hath, moreover, the advantage of affording to the ſhips that come from Europe, an eaſy landing and a ſafe anchorage.

Theſe conſiderations induced the firſt adventurers from France, who ravaged St. Domingo, to ſettle at Samana; where they maintained their ground a long time, though ſurrounded by their enemies. At length it was found that they were too much expoſed, and at too great a diſtance from the reſt of the French ſettlements on the iſland, which were every day improving. In conſequence of this they were recalled. The Spaniards rejoiced at their departure; but did not take poſſeſſion of the ſpot they had quitted.

Within theſe few years, however, the court of Madrid have ſent thither ſome people from the Canaries; the ſtate have been at the expence of the voyage, of their eſtabliſhment, and of their maintenance for ſeveral years. Theſe meaſures, prudent as they were, have not been attended with ſucceſs. The new inhabitants have for the moſt part fallen victims to the climate, to the clearing of the ground, undertaken without precautions, and above all, to the diſhoneſty of the governors, who have appropriated to themſelves the funds they were intruſted with. The few that have ſurvived ſo many evils, languiſh under the expectation of approaching death. Let us ſee whether the efforts made to render Cuba flouriſhing, have been more fortunate.

*Conqueſt of the iſland of Cuba by the Spaniards.*

THE iſland of Cuba, which is ſeparated from St. Domingo by a narrow channel, is of itſelf equal in value to a kingdom: it is two hundred and thirty leagues in length, and in breadth from fourteen to twenty-four. None of its rivers are navigable: in three or four of them only, the boats can go up to the height of two, four, or ſix leagues, during the greateſt part of the year. To the north, the Havannah, Bahia-bonda, Maiul, and Matanza, can receive men of war; but the ſouthern harbours, as Cuba, Xagua, Port au Prince,

Bayamo, Bacacoa, Nipe, Batabano, and Trinidad, admit only merchantmen.

Though Cuba was diſcovered by Columbus in 1492, the Spaniards did not attempt to make themſelves maſters of it till 1511, when Diego de Velaſquez came with four ſhips, and landed on the eaſtern point.

This diſtrict was under the government of a cacique, named Hatuey. He was a native of St. Domingo, or Hiſpaniola, and had retired hither to avoid the ſlavery to which his countrymen were condemned. Thoſe who could eſcape the tyranny of the Caſtilians had followed him in his retreat, where he formed a little ſtate, and ruled in peace. At a diſtance he obſerved the Spaniſh ſails, the approach of which he dreaded. On the firſt news he received of their arrival he called together the braveſt Indians, both of his ſubjects and allies, to animate them to a defence of their liberty; aſſuring them, at the ſame time, that all their efforts would be ineffectual, if they did not firſt render the god of their enemies propitious to them: "behold him there," ſaid he, pointing to a veſſel filled with gold, "behold that mighty divinity, let us invoke "his aid!"

This ſimple and credulous people eaſily believed that gold, for the ſake of which ſo much blood was ſhed, was the god of the Spaniards. They danced and ſang before the rude and unfaſhioned ore, and reſigned themſelves wholly to its protection.

But Hatuey, more enlightened, and more ſuſpicious, than the other caciques, aſſembled them again. "We muſt "not," ſaid he to them, "expect any happineſs ſo long "as the god of the Spaniards remains among us. He is "no leſs our enemy than they. They ſeek for him in "every place; and where they find him, there they eſta-"bliſh themſelves. Were he hidden in the cavities of the "earth, they would diſcover him. Were we to ſwallow "him, they would plunge their hands into our bowels, "and drag him out. There is no place but the bottom "of the ſea, that can elude their ſearch. When he is no "longer among us, doubtleſs we ſhall be forgotten by "them." As ſoon as he had done ſpeaking, every man brought out his gold, and threw it into the ſea.

Notwithſtanding this, the Spaniards advanced. Their

muſkets and cannons, thoſe tremendous deities, diſperſed with their thunder the ſavages who endeavoured to reſiſt: but, as Hatuey might reaſſemble them, he was purſued through the woods, taken, and condemned to be burned. When he was faſtened to the ſtake, and waited only for the kindling of the fire, an inhuman prieſt advanced to propoſe the ceremony of baptiſm, and to ſpeak to him of paradiſe. "Are there," ſaid the cacique, "any Spa-"niards in that happy place? Yes," replied the miſſionary; "but there are none but good ones. The beſt of "them," returned Hatuey, "are good for nothing. I "will not go to a place where I ſhould be in danger of "meeting one of them. Talk no more to me of your re-"ligion, but leave me to die."

Thus was the cacique burned, the god of the chriſtians diſhonoured, and his croſs imbrued with human blood; but Velaſquez found no more enemies to oppoſe him. No reſiſtance was made, and yet the nation did not long ſurvive the loſs of its liberty. In thoſe ferocious times, when to conquer was nothing but to deſtroy, ſeveral inhabitants of Cuba were maſſacred; a greater number of them ended their lives in the gold mines, although they were not found abundant enough to be worked for any length of time. At laſt the ſmall-pox, that poiſon which hath been tranſmitted from the Old to the New World, in exchange for a ſtill more fatal poiſon, completed what had been ſo much forwarded by the other calamities. The whole iſland was ſoon reduced to a deſert.

*Importance, government, population, cultures, and other labours, of Cuba.*

It was indebted for its revival to the pilot Alaminos, who, in 1519, firſt paſſed the canal of Bahama, when he was carrying the firſt intelligence of the ſucceſs of Cortez to the emperor Charles V. It was ſoon underſtood, that this would be the only convenient road for the ſhips that ſhould ſail from Mexico to Europe, and the Havannah was built to receive them. The utility of this celebrated port was afterwards extended to the veſſels diſpatched from Porto-Bello and from Carthagena. They all put in there, and waited reciprocally for each other, in order to arrive together in the mother country with a greater degree of parade and of ſe-

curity. The prodigious expences which navigators, laden with the richeſt treaſures of the world, incurred during their ſtay, occaſioned an immenſe circulation of money in the town, which was itſelf compelled to ſend a part of it into the countries, more or leſs diſtant, from whence it derived its ſubſiſtence. Cuba thus acquired ſome degree of animation, while the other iſlands, under the ſame dominion, ſtill continued in that ſtate of annihilation into which they had been plunged by the conqueſt. In order to accelerate the ſlow progreſs of this ſettlement, a particular aſſociation was formed in 1735. The funds of the new company conſiſted of one million of piaſtres, or of 5,400,000 livres [225,000l.] They were divided into two thouſand ſhares, one hundred of which belonged to the crown. The privilege of this company was excluſive. They eſtabliſhed a factory at Cadix; but Cuba itſelf was the ſeat of the monopoly.

The directors, at a diſtance from the mother country, attended only to the making of their own fortunes; they committed numberleſs malverſations; and the company, whoſe intereſts they managed, were ſo completely ruined in the ſpace of twenty years, that it was no longer poſſible for them to continue their tranſactions. The government then authoriſed a few merchants to carry on this trade, and in 1765, all the Spaniards were freely admitted into a poſſeſſion which ought never to have been ſhut againſt them.

A governor, who bears the title of captain-general, preſides at preſent over the colony. He determines all matters relative to the civil and the military branches; but the finances are under the direction of an intendant. Magiſtrates, whoſe judgments may be ſet aſide by the audience of St. Domingo, diſtribute juſtice in the eighteen juriſdictions which divide the iſland.

The biſhop's ſee, and his chapter, are in the town of Cuba. Neither they, nor any other members of the clergy, receive the tithes; they belong, as in the reſt of the New World, to the crown; but in this, as well as in other places, without being a reſource for the treaſury. There are twenty-three convents of men, and three nunneries in the colony, the eſtates of which are valued, according to the moſt moderate calculation, at 14,589,590 livres [607,899l. 11s. 8d.] The funds which belong to the order of St.

Jean de Dieu, and which are deſtined for public uſe, are not included in this calculation.

Children are either well or ill educated in moſt of theſe convents. There is, ever ſince 1728, an univerſity at the the Havannah, which hath a revenue of 37,800 livres [1575l.] and leſs than two hundred ſcholars.

Nineteen hoſpitals are diſtributed over the iſland; and there, as in all other parts, people are by no means unanimous with reſpect to the utility of theſe eſtabliſhments, or to the beſt mode of regulating them. Alas! then, every thing that concerns government is ſtill problematic, and the queſtions which more particularly affect the happineſs of the human ſpecies, are, perhaps, thoſe which have been the leaſt ſatisfactorily ſolved.

The countries of the globe, which pretend to civilization, are full of indolent men, who chooſe rather to ſue for alms in the ſtreets, than to employ their ſtrength in the manufactures. Our intention is not certainly to harden the hearts of men, but we will pronounce, without heſitation, that theſe wretches are ſo many robbers of the real poor; and that whoever grants them any aſſiſtance becomes their accomplice. The knowledge of their hypocriſy, of their vices, of their debaucheries, of their nocturnal ſaturnalia, leſſens the commiſeration that is due to real indigence. It is certainly a diſagreeable taſk to deprive a citizen of his liberty, which is the only thing he poſſeſſes, and to add impriſonment to his miſery. And yet the man who prefers the abject ſtate of a beggar, to an aſylum where he might earn clothes and ſubſiſtence hy his labour, is a vicious perſon who ought to be carried there by force. There are many countries where, from miſtaken motives of compaſſion, the profeſſed beggars are ſuffered to remain at liberty. The adminiſtration of thoſe countries diſplays, in this inſtance, more humanity than judgment.

But beſide the ſtate of beggary, which is brought on by a ſpirit of idleneſs, there muſt neceſſarily be poor people without number in every place where there are multitudes of men, who have no protection againſt miſery but in their labour. For all theſe unfortunate people, a day of ſickneſs is a day of indigence. Every old man is poor. Every man who is diſabled either by accident or by natural deformity, old or young, is a poor man. Every labourer,

every ſoldier, every ſailor, who hath either got no employment, or is unable to ſerve, is a poor man. Poverty begets poverty; were it only from the impoſſibility that indigent perſons ſhould give any kind of education, or furniſh any employment to their children. A great conflagration, an inundation, a hail ſtorm, a long and rigorous winter, an epidemical diſorder, a famine, a war, great and ſudden reductions of rent, bankruptcies, bad, and even ſometimes good operations of finance, the invention of a new machine: every cauſe, in a word, which deprives the citizen of his ſtate, and which ſuſpends, or ſuddenly diminiſhes, the daily labours, occaſions an incredible number of people to be reduced to poverty in an inſtant.

And yet, who are theſe numerous unfortunate people, who are reduced to inevitable poverty without any fault of their own, and perhaps from the injuſtice of our conſtitutional laws? They are uſeful men who have cultivated the lands, cut the ſtones, conſtructed our edifices, nouriſhed our children, worked in our mines and in our quarries, defended our country, aſſiſted the efforts of genius, and been ſerviceable in all the branches of induſtry.

In order to ſuccour theſe intereſting beings, hoſpitals have been contrived. But do theſe eſtabliſhments anſwer the end of their inſtitution? Almoſt in all places they have a number of moral and natural effects, which render the utility of them doubtful in their preſent ſtate.

Particular and temporary ſuccours, prudently diſpenſed by government in a ſeaſon of great popular calamities, would perhaps be better than hoſpitals which are perpetually maintained. They would prevent beggary, while hoſpitals encourage it. Theſe aſylums for misfortune, are almoſt all in poſſeſſion of landed property. This kind of property is liable to too many embarraſſments, and to diſhoneſty in the management of it, and ſubject to too many viciſſitudes in its produce. The directors of it are permanent. Hence their zeal is diminiſhed, and the ſpirit of fraud and rapine, or at leaſt that of indifference, is ſubſtituted to it. Theſe ſacred depoſits become at laſt the revenue of thoſe who manage them. The adminiſtration of theſe eſtabliſhments is almoſt always a myſtery to the government and to the public, while nothing would be more honeſt and more neceſſary, than that it ſhould be

expoſed to public view: it is alſo arbitrary, and it ought to be ſubjected to the moſt careful and rigorous examination. The depredations that are committed in the palaces of kings, are the ſubject of much diſcuſſion. There at leaſt magnificence, abundance, and the etiquette which compoſes the falſe greatneſs of the throne, are in ſome ſort an apology for this diſſipation; for where there are kings, it is well known there muſt likewiſe be abuſes. But hoſpitals are liable to ſtill greater malverſations, and yet they are the houſes of the poor! they are the fortunes of the poor! every thing ought there to preſent the ſtricteſt ideas of economy and order; every circumſtance ought to render theſe duties ſacred. You, who are the directors of theſe aſylums, if you be guilty of negligence, your hearts muſt be obdurate! But if you ſhould allow yourſelves to commit extortions, by what name can you be called? You are fit only to be trampled upon in the duſt, and to be drenched in blood.

The natural defects of our hoſpitals are ſtill more deplorable than the moral vices of them. The air is corrupted by a thouſand cauſes, the detail of which would be diſguſting to all our ſenſes. We may form a judgment of this from one inconteſtible experiment. Three thouſand men, confined within the limits of one acre, muſt, by their perſpiration alone, form an atmoſphere of the height of ſixty inches, which becomes contagious if the air be not perpetually renewed. All the people who are habitually employed in the ſervice of the ſick are pale, and moſtly attacked, even in a ſtate of health, with a peculiar kind of ſlow fever. How much greater muſt the ſame cauſe operate upon a ſick perſon? People are diſcharged from the hoſpital cured of one diſeaſe, and carry away another along with them. Patients are a long time recovering. How many fatal neglects, and unfortunate miſtakes, are committed? The frequency of them ſtifles remorſe.

At the Hotel Dieu of Paris, and at Bicêtre, the fifth and the ſixth part of the ſick periſh; at the hoſpital of Lyons, the eighth and the ninth part.

O thou! who, deſcending from the firſt throne of Europe, haſt viſited the principal countries of it with the thirſt of knowledge, and undoubtedly with the deſire of labouring for the good of thine own country; tell us, how

great was thy horror when thou didſt ſee in one of our hoſpitals, ſeven or eight ſick perſons heaped together in the ſame bed, all maladies blended together, all the principles and degrees of life and death confounded; one wretch crying out with acute pain, by the ſide of another who was breathing his laſt; the dying man lain by the ſide of the dead one, and all of them reciprocally infecting and curſing each other. Say, why didſt thou not repreſent this picture to the imagination of thy young and compaſſionate ſiſter, our ſovereign? No doubt, ſhe would have been affected with it; her compaſſion would have been communicated to her huſband, and her tears would have interceded for theſe miſerable wretches. How noble a uſe would this have been making of beauty!

The preſervation, therefore, of mankind, the watching over their days, and the removing from them the horrors of miſery, is a ſcience ſo little underſtood by government, that even the eſtabliſhments they ſeem to have made with a view of fulfilling theſe objects, produce an oppoſite effect. Aſtoniſhing perverſion of mind! which ought not to be forgotten by any one of our philoſophers, who ſhall write the immenſe treatiſe on the barbariſm of civiliſed nations.

Some men, devoid of feeling, have aſſerted, that in order to diminiſh the number, already too great, of idle, negligent, and vicious people, it was neceſſary that the poor and the ſick ſhould not be well treated in the hoſpitals. And indeed it cannot be denied, but that this barbarous expedient hath been purſued to its utmoſt extent: nevertheleſs, what are the effects produced by it? Several men have been deſtroyed, while no one have been corrected.

Lazineſs and debauchery may poſſibly be encouraged in hoſpitals; but if this defect be inherent in theſe eſtabliſhments, it muſt be borne with. If it can be corrected, we muſt endeavour to do it. Let hoſpitals ſubſiſt, but let us all exert ourſelves by diffuſing general competency, in diminiſhing the multitude of thoſe unfortunate people who are compelled to ſeek an aſylum in them. Let them be employed in charitable houſes, in ſedentary labours; let lazineſs be puniſhed there, but let induſtry be rewarded.

With regard to the ſick, let them be taken care of, as men ought to be by men. Their country owes them this

relief from motives of juſtice or of intereſt. If they be old, they have ſerved mankind, they have brought other citizens into the world; if they be young, they may ſerve mankind again, they may be the ſource of a new generation. In a word, when they are once admitted into thoſe charitable aſylums, let hoſpitality be exerciſed in its full extent. Let there be no more mean avarice, no murderous calculations. They ought to find there all the comforts they would find in their own families, if their own families were capable of receiving them.

This plan is not impracticable, it will not even be expenſive, when better laws, when a more vigilant, a more enlightened, and eſpecially a more humane, adminiſtration, ſhall preſide over theſe eſtabliſhments. The experiment hath been juſt made with ſucceſs, under our own immediate inſpection, by the care of Madame Necker. While this lady's huſband is employing himſelf upon a larger ſcale, in diminiſhing the number of unfortunate people, ſhe enters into the details which can alleviate the diſtreſſes of thoſe who are already unfortunate. She hath juſt eſtabliſhed in the ſuburb of St. Germain, an hoſpital, where ſick people, who have each a bed to themſelves, and are attended in the ſame manner as they would be at the houſe of the moſt affectionate mother, coſt one third leſs than in any of the hoſpitals at Paris. Foreigners, who are become members of the nation, by the moſt meritorious of all naturalizations, by the good you do to it; generous pair, I venture to name you, although you are ſtill alive, although you are ſurrounded with the influence of a high poſt; and I am not apprehenſive of being accuſed of adulation:—I think I have given ſufficient proofs, that I can neither fear nor flatter vice in power, and therefore I have acquired the right of rendering public homage to virtue.

Would to heaven, that the happy experiment we have juſt mentioned, might bring on a general reformation in all the hoſpitals founded by the generoſity of our anceſtors! Would to heaven, that ſo fine an eſtabliſhment might ſerve as a model for thoſe, which a principle of ſoft compaſſion, the deſire of expiating the poſſeſſion of wealth, or a benevolent ſyſtem of philoſophy, may one day excite ſucceeding generations to found! This wiſh of my heart extends to the whole univerſe; for my thoughts have no other limits

than thoſe of the world, when they are employed about the happineſs of my fellow-creatures. Citizens of the univerſe, unite yourſelves with me; it is your intereſt that is in agitation.

What aſſurances have you, that none of your anceſtors have died in an hoſpital? What aſſurances have you that none of your deſcendants will expire in that retreat provided for miſery? Might not an unexpected misfortune oblige you to take refuge there yourſelves? Let your vows therefore be joined to mine.

Let us now return to our ſubject. According to accounts taken in 1774, the iſland of Cuba reckons one hundred and ſeventy-one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-eight perſons, of whom twenty-eight thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-ſix only are ſlaves. The population muſt even be rather more conſiderable, becauſe the well-grounded apprehenſion of ſome new tax muſt have prevented accuracy in the declarations.

Few of the arts, except thoſe of primary neceſſity, are found in the iſland. Theſe are in the hands of the mulattoes, or free negroes, and are in a very imperfect ſtate. Joiners work only hath been carried on to a remarkable degree of perfection.

Other mulattoes and blacks are employed in cultivating articles of ſubſiſtence. Theſe conſiſt of ſome fruits of the New World, and ſome vegetables of the Old; of maize, and of manioc, the conſumption of which hath diminiſhed in proportion as the freedom of trade hath lowered the price of the flour brought from Spain or Mexico, and ſometimes alſo from North America: they conſiſt of tolerable good cacao, but in ſo ſmall a quantity, that the inhabitants are obliged to draw annually from Caraccas, or from Guayaquil, more than two thouſand quintals of it: they conſiſt alſo of numerous herds of oxen, and eſpecially of hogs, the fleſh of which hath been hitherto generally preferred, and will always be ſo, unleſs the ſheep, which have lately been brought into the iſland, ſhould make them one day be neglected. All theſe animals wander about in the paſture grounds, each of which is four, or at leaſt two leagues in extent. Some mules and horſes are likewiſe ſeen to graze there, which ought to be ſtill more multiplied, be-

cauſe their preſent number doth not prevent the inhabitants from purchaſing a great quantity from the continent.

The articles deſtined for exportation employ moſt of the ſlaves. From 1748 to 1753, the labour of theſe unfortunate people did not produce annually, to the mother-country, more than eighteen thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty quintals of tobacco, the value of which in Europe was 1,293,570 livres [53,898l. 15s.] one hundred and ſeventy-three thouſand eight hundred quintals of ſugar, the value of which was 7,994,786 livres [333,116l. 11s. 8d.] fifteen hundred and ſixty-nine hides, the value of which was 138,817 livres [5,784l. 10d.] and 1,064,505 livres [44,354l. 7s. 6d.] in gold and ſilver. Of this ſum, amounting to 10,491,678 livres [437,153l. 5s.] the tobacco alone was the property of government, all the reſt belonged to trade.

Since that period the labours have much increaſed; they have not, however, been turned towards the culture of indigo and of cotton, although theſe grow naturally in the iſland.

The culture of coffee, which hath been lately undertaken, hath not made any conſiderable progreſs, nor will it increaſe. Spain conſumes but a ſmall quantity of that production, and the European marts are and will be for a long time overſtocked with it. There is more to be expected from the wax.

When Florida was ceded, in 1763, by the court of Madrid to that of London, the five or ſix hundred miſerable people who lived in that iſland took refuge at Cuba, and carried ſome bees along with them. Theſe uſeful inſects flew to the foreſts, fixed themſelves in the hollow of old trees, and multiplied with a degree of celerity that ſeems incredible. The colony, which till then had bought a great deal of wax for their religious ſolemnities, was ſoon able to collect a ſufficient quantity for this pious uſe, and for other conſumptions. They had ſome overplus in 1770; and ſeven years afterwards they exported ſeven thouſand one hundred and fifty quintals and a half of it, for Europe and for America. This production muſt neceſſarily increaſe, under a ſky, and on a ſoil, which are equally favourable to it; in an iſland where the hives yield four times in every year, and where the ſwarms ſucceed each other without interruption.

Tobacco is one of the moſt important productions of Cuba. Each crop furniſhes about fifty-five thouſand quintals. Part of this is conſumed in the country, or fraudulently carried out of it. The government purchaſe annually, for their dominions in the Old and in the New World, where they equally monopolize it, forty-ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty quintals, the price of which varies according to its quality, but which coſt, one with another, 48 livres 12 ſols [2l. 6d.] the hundred weight. So that the king pours annually into the iſland 2,272,050 livres [94,668l. 15s.] for this production.

The progreſs made in the culture of tobacco hath been lately ſtopped at Cuba. This plant hath even been rooted up in ſome places where it did not thrive ſo well. The miniſtry did not chooſe that the crops ſhould exceed the demands of the monarchy. They were certainly apprehenſive that foreigners, who might have purchaſed this production in the leaf, would introduce it clandeſtinely in their provinces, after having manufactured it. It has been thought that the induſtry of the planters would be more uſefully employed in the culture of ſugar.

This commodity was little known before the diſcovery of the New World. It is gradually become the object of an immenſe commerce. The Spaniards were obliged to purchaſe it of their neighbours, till at length they thought of planting it at Cuba. The mother-country receives annually from two hundred to two hundred and fifty quintals of it, half of it white, and half raw. It is not as much as its inhabitants can conſume; but they will not be obliged to have recourſe to foreign markets, when this cultivation ſhall be as firmly eſtabliſhed in the reſt of the iſland, as it already is in the territory of the Havannah.

Before 1765, Cuba did not receive annually more than three or four large ſhips from Cadiz; and thoſe veſſels, which, after having ſold their cargoes upon the coaſts of the continent, came there in order to take up a lading, which they had not been able to find at Vera Cruz, at Honduras, and at Carthagena. The iſland was at that time in want of the moſt neceſſary things, and the inhabitants were compelled to purchaſe them of their neighbours, with whom they had formed ſome ſmuggling connections. Since the

reſtraints have been diminiſhed, the number of voyages hath multiplied the productions, which have alſo reciprocally extended the navigation.

In 1774, one hundred and one veſſels arrived from Spain in the colony: theſe were laden with flour, wines, brandies, and with every thing requiſite for a large ſettlement; and they carried away from thence all the commodities which a better arrangement of things had produced.

The ſame year Cuba received, upon one hundred and eighteen ſmall veſſels, from Louiſiana, rice, and the proper wood for their ſugar cheſts; from Mexico, flour, vegetables, Morocco leather, and copper; from the other parts of this large continent, oxen, mules, and cacao; and from Porto Rico two thouſand ſlaves, which had been diſtributed among theſe ſhips.

Theſe veſſels of the Old and New World were not allowed to chooſe the ports where it would have been moſt convenient for them to put in. They were obliged to land their cargoes at the Havannah, at Port-au-Prince, at Cuba, and at Trinidad, the only places where cuſtoms were eſtabliſhed. None but fiſhing ſmacks and coaſting veſſels are allowed to frequent all the harbours indiſcriminately.

A man, who at this time does honour to Spain, and who would do honour to any country whatever, Mr. Campo Manes, ſays, that the produce of the cuſtoms, which befor 1765 had never exceeded 565,963 livres [23,581l. 15s. 10d.], amounts at preſent to 1,620,000 livres [67,500l.] and that the mother country draws from the colony, in metals, 8,100,000 livres [337,500l.] inſtead of 1,620,000 livres [67,500l.] which it formerly received. This is an argument in favour of a free trade, of the force of which it were to be wiſhed that mankind could be made ſenſible.

The taxes levied at Cuba, or thoſe at leaſt which enter the coffers of the ſtate, do not exceed 2,430,000 livres [101,250l.] and government circulates in the iſland to the amount of 2,272,050 livres [94,668l. 15s. for tobacco; 1,350,000 livres [56,250l.] for the maintenance of the fortifications, 2,160,000 livres [90,000l.] for the uſual garriſons, and 3,780,000 livres [157,500l.] for the naval department.

Cedar woods, proper for ſhip-building, were found all over the colony, though the idea had never occurred of

making any uſe of them. At length docks were eſtabliſhed, in 1724, which have ſent out, from that period to the preſent time, fifty-eight veſſels, or frigates. This eſtabliſhment is kept up, notwithſtanding the neceſſity there is of the importing iron and the ropes uſed for thoſe veſſels, articles which the iſland doth not furniſh; and notwithſtanding the cuſtom which hath prevailed ſince 1750, of bringing from the north of Europe the maſts, which were formerly obtained, though of inferior quality, from the gulf of Mexico.

The ſmall fleet deſtined to clear the coaſts of Spain of ſmugglers or pirates, and which, in the intervals between the cruizing ſeaſons uſed to remain at Vera Cruz, was ſuppreſſed in 1748. It was become uſeleſs ſince the government had reſolved to maintain conſtantly at Cuba ſome maritime forces, more or leſs conſiderable. In peace time theſe veſſels carry to the iſlands of Cumana, and to Louiſiana, the funds that are deſtined for the annual neceſſities of thoſe ſeveral ſettlements; they prevent ſmuggling as much as they can; and they cauſe the name of their maſter to be reſpected. In time of war they protect the traders and the territories of their country.

The Havannah, where theſe ſhips are conſtructed, hath juſt been ſupplied, by the care of the marquis de la Torre, with ſome conveniencies and embelliſhments which had been for a long time deſired in vain. This active governor hath given the inhabitants a playhouſe, decorated with propriety, two delightful walks, convenient barracks, and five very well contrived bridges. Theſe uſeful or agreeable eſtabliſhments have coſt the town no more than 482,066 livres [20,086l. 1s. 8d.]

*In what conſiſt the fortifications of Cuba.*

GOVERNMENT have allotted, for the fortifications with which the town hath been ſurrounded, from 1763 to 1777, 22,413,989 livres 18 ſols 6 deniers [933,916l. 4s. 11¼d.] Theſe works have been conſtructed by four thouſand one hundred and ninety-eight blacks, by fifteen hundred malefactors ſent from Spain and Mexico, and by the freemen, who have not diſdained this kind of labour.

The harbour of the Havannah is one of the ſafeſt in the

univerſe; the fleets of the whole world might ride at anchor there together. At the entrance of it there are rocks, againſt which the veſſels that ſhould venture to deviate from the middle of the paſs would infallibly be wrecked. It is defended by the Moro and the fort on the point. The former of theſe fortreſſes is raiſed ſo high above the level of the ſea, that even a firſt rate man of war could not batter it. The other hath not the ſame advantage; but it can only be attacked by a very narrow channel, where the warmeſt aſſailants could never withſtand the numerous and formidable artillery of the Moro.

The Havannah, therefore, can only be attacked on the land ſide. Fifteen or ſixteen thouſand men, which are the moſt that could be employed in this ſervice, would not be ſufficient to inveſt the works, which cover a vaſt extent. Their efforts muſt be directed, either to the right or left of the port, againſt the town, or the Moro. If the latter, they may eaſily land within a league of the fort, and will come within ſight of it, without difficulty, by eaſy roads, through woods which will cover and ſecure their march.

The firſt difficulty will be that of getting water, which, in the neighbourhood of the camp the aſſailants muſt chooſe, is mortal. To obtain ſuch as is drinkable, they muſt go in boats to the diſtance of three leagues, and it will be neceſſary to ſend a conſiderable force for this purpoſe to the only river where it is to be had, or to leave a detachment there in intrenchments; which being at a diſtance from the camp, without communication or ſupport, will be in perpetual danger of being cut off.

Previous to the attack of the Moro, the enemy muſt make themſelves maſters of the Cavagna, which hath been lately built. It is a crown-work, compoſed of a baſtion, two curtains, and two demi-baſtions in front. Its right and left lie upon the bank of the harbour. It hath caſements, reſervoirs of water, and powder magazines that are bomb-proof, a good covered way, and a wide ditch cut in the rock. The way which leads to it is compoſed of ſtones and pebbles, without any mixture of earth. The Cavagna is placed on an eminence which commands the Moro, but is itſelf expoſed to attacks from a hill which is of an equal height, and not more than three hundred paces diſtant from it. As it would have been eaſy for an ene-

my to open their trenches under the cover of this hill, the Spaniards have levelled it, and the Cavagna can now extend its view and its batteries to a great diſtance. If the garriſon ſhould find themſelves ſo preſſed, as not to be able to maintain this poſt, they would blow up the works, which are all undermined, and retreat into the Moro, the communication with which cannot poſſibly be cut off.

The famous fortreſs of the Moro had towards the ſea, on which ſide it is impregnable, two baſtions; and on the land ſide two others, with a wide and deep ditch cut out of the rock. Since it was taken, it hath been entirely rebuilt, and its parapets made higher and thicker. A good covered way hath been added, and every thing that was wanting to ſecure the garriſon and the ſtores. It is not eaſier to open trenches before this place than the Cavagna. Both of them are built with a ſoft ſtone, which will be leſs dangerous to the defenders than the common ſort of free-ſtone.

Independent of theſe advantages, the two fortreſſes have in their favour a climate extremely hazardous to beſiegers, and an eaſy communication with the town for receiving all ſorts of proviſions, without a poſſibility of being intercepted. Thus circumſtanced, theſe two places may be conſidered as impregnable, at leaſt as very difficult to be taken, provided they be properly ſtocked with proviſions, and defended with courage and ability. The preſervation of them is of ſo much greater importance, as their loſs would neceſſarily occaſion the ſurrender of the habour and town, which are both of them commanded, and may be battered, from theſe eminences.

After having explained the difficulties of taking the Havannah by attacking the Moro, we muſt next ſpeak of thoſe which muſt be encountered on the ſide of the town.

It is ſituated near the bottom of the harbour. It was defended, as well towards the harbour as towards the country, by a dry wall, which was good for nothing, and twenty-one baſtions, which were not much better. It had a dry ditch, and of little depth. Before this ditch was a kind of covered way, almoſt in ruins. The place, in this ſtate, could not have reſiſted a ſudden attempt, which, had it been made in the night, and ſupported by ſeveral attacks, true or falſe, would certainly have carried it. Wide and

deep ditches have been made, and an exceeding good covered way added.

These defences are supported by the fort at the point, which is a square, built of stone, and, though small, is provided with casements. It hath been rebuilt, having been very much damaged during the siege. There is a good dry ditch round it, digged out of the rock. Independent of its principal destination, which is to co-operate with the Moro in defending the port, and for which it is perfectly well calculated, it hath several batteries which open upon the country, and flank some parts of the town wall.

Its fire crosses that of a fort of four bastions, which hath a ditch, covered way, powder magazine, casemates, and reservoirs of water. This new fortification, which is erected at three quarters of a mile from the place, on an eminence called Arosteguy, will require a siege in form, if the town is to be attacked on that side, particularly as it is so constructed as to have a view of the sea, to command a considerable tract on the land side, and to disturb an enemy exceedingly in getting water, which they must fetch from its neighbourhood.

In skirting the city onward, we come to the fort of Atarès, which has been constructed since the siege. It is of stone, hath four bastions, a covered way, a half moon before the gate, a wide ditch, a good rampart, reservoirs, casemates, and a powder magazine. It is barely three quarters of a league distant from the town, and is situated on the other side of a river and an impracticable morass, which cover it in that direction. The rising ground upon which it is built, is entirely occupied by it, and has been insulated by the digging of a broad ditch, into which the sea hath a passage from the bottom of the harbour. Besides its commanding the communication between the town and the interior part of the island, it defends the circuit of the place by crossing its fires with those of Arosteguy. The Spaniards have constructed a large redoubt in the interval of these two forts, which is an additional protection to the town. The Atarès also crosses its fire with that of the Moro, which is very high, and situated at the extreme point of the fort.

If it were allowable to form an opinion upon a subject, which we do not professionally understand, we might ven-

tore to aſſert, that thoſe who would undertake the ſiege of the Havannah, ſhould begin by the Cavagna and the Moro; becauſe theſe forts, once taken, the town muſt of courſe ſurrender, or be deſtroyed by the artillery of the Moro. On the contrary, if they ſhould determine for the town ſide, the beſiegers would ſcarcely find themſelves in a better condition, even after they had taken it. Indeed, they would have it in their power to deſtroy the dock-yards, and the ſhips that might happen to be in the harbour; but this would produce no permanent advantage. In order to eſtabliſh themſelves, they muſt ſtill be obliged to take the Cavagna and the Moro, which in all probability they would find impoſſible, after the loſs they muſt have ſuſtained in the attack of the town and its fortreſſes.

But whatever plan may be purſued in the ſiege of this place, the aſſailants will not only have to combat the numerous garriſon incloſed within its works; there will be a corps likewiſe of twelve thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-two militia, who have been accuſtomed to manœuvre in a ſurpriſing manner, who would take the field, and continually interrupt their operations. Theſe troops, armed, clothed, and accoutred at the expence of the government, and paid in time of war upon the footing of regulars, are trained and commanded by non-commiſſioned officers ſent from Europe, and choſen from the moſt diſtinguiſhed regiments. The forming of this militia hath coſt an immenſe ſum. The court of Spain is in expectation of future events, to form a judgment of the utility of theſe expences. But whatever may be the military ſpirit of theſe troops, we may pronounce before-hand, that this eſtabliſhment, in a political view, is inexcuſable; and for the following reaſons.

The project of making ſoldiers of all the coloniſts of Cuba, a moſt unjuſt and deſtructive project to all colonies, has been purſued with uncommon ardour. The violence they have been forced to uſe with the inhabitants, to make them ſubmit to exerciſes which they were averſe from, has produced no other effects than that of increaſing their natural love of repoſe. They deteſt thoſe mechanical and forced movements, which, not contributing in any reſpect to their happineſs, appear doubly inſupportable; not to mention their ſeeming frightful or ridiculous to a people, who probably think they have no intereſt in defending a government by which they are oppreſſed. The rage of keep-

ing up an army; that madneſs, which, under pretence of preventing wars, encourages them; which by introducing deſpotiſm into governments, paves the way for rebellion among the people; which continually dragging the inhabitant from his dwelling, and the huſbandman from his field, extinguiſhes in them the love of their country, by driving them from their home; which ſubverts nations, and carries them over land and ſea: that mercenary profeſſion of war, ſo different from the truly military ſpirit, ſooner or later will be the ruin of Europe; but much ſooner of the colonies, and perhaps, firſt of all, of thoſe which belong to Spain.

THE moſt extenſive and moſt fertile part of the American archipelago is poſſeſſed by the Spaniards. Theſe iſlands, in the hands of an induſtrious nation, would have proved a ſource of unbounded wealth. In their preſent ſtate, they are vaſt foreſts, exhibiting only a frightful ſolitude. Far from contributing to the ſtrength and riches of the kingdom they belong to, they ſerve only to weaken and to exhauſt it by the expences required to maintain them. If Spain had attended properly to the political improvements of other nations, ſhe would have diſcovered, that ſeveral of them owed their influence ſolely to the advantages they have drawn from iſlands, in every reſpect inferior to thoſe which have hitherto only ſerved the ignominious purpoſe of ſwelling the liſt of the numberleſs and uſeleſs poſſeſſions of the Spaniſh crown: She would have learned, that there is no other rational foundation of colonies, eſpecially of thoſe which have no mines, but agriculture.

*Hath Spain taken proper meaſures to render their iſlands uſeful, and doth ſhe ſtill purſue them?*

It is not doing juſtice to the Spaniards to ſuppoſe that they are naturally incapable of labour. If we give the leaſt attention to the exceſſive fatigues which thoſe of them who are concerned in contraband trade ſubmit to with the utmoſt patience, we ſhall find that their toils are infinitely more grievous than any that attend the management of a plantation. If they neglect to enrich themſelves by agriculture, it is the fault of their government. Alas! might the diſintereſted hiſtorian, who neither ſeeks nor deſires any thing but the general good of mankind, be permitted to

furnish them with those sentiments and expressions, which the habit of sloth, the rigour of government, and prejudices of every kind, seem to have precluded them from the use of, thus would he in their name address the court of Madrid, and the whole Spanish nation:

"Reflect on the sacrifices we require from you, and see, "if you will not reap a centuple advantage by the valuable "commodities we shall supply to your now expiring com- "merce. Your navy, increased by our labours, will form "the only bulwark that can preserve to you those posses- "sions, which are now ready to escape from your hands. "As we become more rich, our consumption will be greater; "and then the country which you inhabit, and which droops "with you, though Nature herself invites it to fertility; "those plains, which present to your eyes only a desert "space, and are a disgrace to your laws and to your man- "ners, will be converted into fields of plenty. Your native "land will flourish by industry and agriculture, which have "now forsaken you. The springs of life and activity, which "ye will have conveyed to us through the channel of the "sea, will flow back, and encompass your dwellings with "rivers of plenty. But if ye prove insensible to our com- "plaints and misfortunes; if ye do not govern us for our "sakes; if we be only the victims of our loyalty; recal to "your minds that ever celebrated era, in which a nation of "unfortunate and discontented subjects shook off the yoke "of your dominion; and by their labours, their success, "and their opulence, justified the revolt in the eyes of the "whole world. They have been free for near two centu- "ries; and shall we still have to lament that we are governed "by you? when Holland broke in pieces the rod of iron, "which crushed her; when she rose from the depth of the "waters to rule over the sea; heaven, without doubt, raised "her up as a monument of freedom, to point out to the "nations of the world the path of happiness, and to inti- "midate faithless kings who would exclude them from "it."

It might be suspected that the court of Madrid have discovered that it would be possible to pass this censure upon them. In 1735, their ministry suggested a company for Cuba. Twenty years after, they conceived the idea of a new monopoly for St. Domingo and for Porto-Rico. The society which was to clear these deserts, was es-

bliſhed at Barcelona, with a capital of 1,785,000 livres [74,375l.] divided into ſhares, of the value of a hundred piſtoles each [83l. 15s.] This company never paid any intereſt to its members; they made no dividend; they obtained the important permiſſion of fitting out ſeveral veſſels for the Honduras. Notwithſtanding this, on the 30th of April 1771, their debts, including their capital, amounted to 3,121,692 livres [130,070l. 10s.] and they had no more than 3,775,540 livres [157,314l. 3s. 4d.] So that in the courſe of fifteen years, with an excluſive privilege, and with very ſignal favour, they had gained no more than 653,848 livres [27,243l. 13s. 4d.] Their affairs have ſince been in great diſorder, and at preſent they have no degree of activity. They are endeavouring to liquidate their debts, but they cannot diſpoſe of their ſhares even at fifty per cent. loſs.

The miniſtry had not waited for this reverſe of fortune, to judge that they had miſtaken the means they had adopted to render theſe iſlands flouriſhing. From 1765, the adminiſtrators of that large empire were obliged to acknowledge that their poſſeſſions had not acquired the ſmalleſt degree of improvement under the yoke of monopoly. They underſtood that they would never improve under ſuch fatal reſtraints. This conviction determined them to have recourſe to the only principle of proſperity, a free trade: but they had not the courage or the wiſdom to remove the obſtacles which muſt neceſſarily have impeded the happy effects of it.

In the year 1778, theſe prohibitions, reſtraints, and impoſitions, which checked their labours, were partly aboliſhed; but there ſtill remain too many of thoſe oppreſſive ſcourges, to give reaſon to expect much exertion. Were they even totally removed, this would ſtill be only a preliminary ſtep.

All the cultures of the New World require ſome advances; but conſiderable capitals are wanted to make that of ſugar ſucceſsful. Excepting at Cuba, there are not perhaps in the other iſlands five or ſix inhabitants wealthy enough to cultivate this production. If the Spaniſh miniſtry do not beſtow liberally their treaſures upon theſe iſlanders, they will not awake from that long and profound lethargy in which they are plunged. This generoſity would be very

practicable in an empire where the public revenue amounts to 140,400,000 livres [5,850,000l.] where the expences do not exceed 129,600,000 livres [5,400,000l.] and where there remains a balance of 10,800,000 livres [450,000l.] which may be laid out in improvements. It is true, that without receiving ſuch powerful aſſiſtance from their reſpective governments, other nations have founded flouriſhing colonies; but beſides that they had not been debaſed during the courſe of three centuries, by pride, languor, and poverty, they were alſo in more favourable and different circumſtances.

Happy is the man, who is born after the extinction of this long ſeries of errors which have infected his nation! Happy is the nation, that ſhould riſe up in the centre of the moſt enlightened nations, if it were prudent enough to profit by the faults which they had committed, and to avail itſelf of the knowledge they had acquired. Such a nation would only have to caſt her eyes about her, in order to diſcern the ſcattered materials that would conſtitute her happineſs, and to attend to the collecting of them. One of the principal advantages which ſhe would owe, either to the novelty of her origin, or to the tardineſs of her labours, or to the long duration of her infant ſtate, would be, that ſhe would be ſpared the trouble of conquering thoſe rooted prejudices, which were the reſult of the inexperience of the firſt legiſlators, which had been conſecrated by time, and which had been maintained againſt reaſon and facts; either from puſillanimity, which is apprehenſive of any innovation; or from pride, which dreads the being obliged to retract; or from a weak veneration for every thing of ancient date.

Let the court of Madrid haſten to lay open it treaſures, and the iſlands ſubject to its empire will ſoon be covered with productions. Their ſubjects, placed upon an extenſive and virgin ſoil, will not only be diſpenſed from buying at a high price what ſerves for their conſumption; but, in a little time, they will ſupplant in all the markets their maſters in this career. The moſt active, the moſt induſtrious, and the moſt enlightened, nations, will have laboured for ages in improving their cultures, their mode of managing them and their manufactures, for the advantage merely of a rival, more favoured by nature than themſelves. But

it can ſcarce be expected, that they will ſubmit patiently to ſuch a misfortune.

*Would the nations, that have colonies in America, ſuffer the Spaniſh iſlands to become flouriſhing?*

Since the origin of ſocieties, a fatal jealouſy prevails among them, which muſt, it ſhould ſeem, be perpetual, unleſs by ſome inconceivable revolution they ſhould be ſeparated from each other by immenſe deſert intervals. Hitherto they have ſhewed themſelves in the ſame light as a citizen in our towns, who ſhould be convinced, that the more his fellow-citizens were indigent and weak, the more he would become rich and powerful, and the more he ſhould be able to check their undertakings, to thwart their induſtry, to limit their cultures, and to confine them to what *is* abſolutely neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence.

But it will be urged, that a citizen enjoys his wealth under the protection of the laws. The proſperity of his neighbour may increaſe without inconvenience to his own, but this is not the caſe with nations,—and wherefore is it not?—It is becauſe there doth not exiſt any tribunal before which they can be ſummoned. But what need have they of ſuch a tribunal?—Becauſe they are unjuſt and puſillanimous. And what advantage do they derive from their injuſtice and puſillanimity?—Perpetual wars, and miſery which is inceſſantly renewed. And can it be ſuppoſed, that experience will not correct them?—We are perfectly convinced of it. And for what reaſon?—Becauſe one madman is ſufficient to diſconcert the wiſdom of all other powers, and there will always be more than one at a time upon the ſeveral thrones of the univerſe.

Nevertheleſs, we hear on every ſide the nations, and eſpecially thoſe that are commercial, crying out for peace, while they ſtill continue to conduct themſelves towards one another, in a manner that excludes them from ever obtaining that bleſſing. They will all aſpire to happineſs, and each of them would enjoy it alone. They will all equally hold tyranny in deteſtation, and they will all exerciſe it upon their neighbours. They will all conſider the idea of univerſal monarchy as extravagant, and yet they will moſt of

them act as if they had either attained it, or were threatened with it.

Could I expect any good to result from my discourse, I would address myself to the most turbulent and the most ambitious among the nations, in the following terms.

"Let us suppose, that you have at length acquired a "sufficient degree of authority among the nations, to reduce "them to that state of degradation and poverty that is suit- "able to you, what can you expect from this despotism? "For how long a time, and at what price, will you main- "tain it; and what advantages will accrue to you from it? "—Do you expect that security, with which one is always "sufficiently rich, and without which one is never sufficient- "ly so?—And can you really think yourself not sufficiently "secure? You know, as well as I do, that the times of in- "vasion are past, and it is thus you disguise an inordinate "ambition, under the mask of a ridiculous phantom. You "prefer the vain splendour of this ambition to the enjoy- "ment of real happiness, which you lose in order to deprive "others of it. What right have you to prescribe limits to "their happiness, you who pretend to extend yours beyond "all bounds? You are an unjust people, while you attribute "to yourselves the exclusive right of prosperity. You are a "people erroneous in your calculations, when you hope to "enrich yourselves by reducing others to poverty. You are "still a blind people, if you do not conceive that the power "of a nation which raises itself upon the ruins of all those "that surround it, is a colossus of clay, which astonishes for "a moment, but which crumbles into dust."

I should afterwards say to the Spanish ministry: "All "the states of Europe are interested in the prosperity of "your continent in the New World, because the more these "vast states shall be flourishing, the more will their mer- "chandize and their manufactures find advantageous marts; "but this is not the case with the islands. The powers that "have appropriated to themselves the fertility of some of "them, are sufficient to provide for their present wants, "and a new competitor would strongly excite their jealousy. "They would attack this competitor either together or "separately, would not lay aside their arms without having "obliged him to give up the clearing of the lands, perhaps, "even not without having made him experience still greater

"evils. It is yours to judge, whether these views be false, "or whether your strength and your courage will allow you "to bid defiance to such a combination." The Dutch colonies will never have any thing of this kind to fear.

*Political steps taken by the republic of the United provinces at its first rise.*

BEFORE the discovery of the western coast of Africa, of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and particularly before that of America, the European nations scarcely knew or visited each other, except in making barbarous incursions, the aim of which was plunder, and the consequence destruction. Excepting a small number of tyrants, who, by oppressing the weak, found means to support a luxury dearly purchased, all the inhabitants of the different states were obliged to content themselves with the meagre subsistence furnished them by lands ill cultivated, and a trade which extended only to the frontiers of each province. Those great events towards the end of the fifteenth century, which form one of the most brilliant epochas of the history of the world, did not produce so sudden a change of manners as might naturally be supposed. Some of the Hanse towns and some Italian republics, it is true, ventured as far as Cadiz and Lisbon, which were become great marts, to purchase the rare and valuable productions of the East and West Indies; but the consumption was very small, through the inability of the several nations to pay for them. Most of them were languishing in a state of absolute lethargy; they were totally ignorant of the advantages and resources of the countries that belonged to them.

To rouse them from this state of insensibility, there was wanting a people, who, springing from nothing, should inspire every mind with activity and intelligence, and diffuse plenty through every market; that should offer the produce of all countries at a lower price, and exchange the superfluities of every nation for those commodities which they want; that should give a quick circulation to produce, merchandize, and money; and, by facilitating and increasing consumption, should encourage population, agriculture, and every branch of industry. For all these advantages,

Europe is indebted to the Dutch. The blind multitude may be excuſed in confining themſelves to the enjoyment of their proſperity, without knowing the ſources of it; but it is incumbent on the philoſopher and the politician to tranſmit to poſterity the fame of the benefactors of mankind; and to trace out, if it be poſſible, the progreſs of their beneficence.

When the generous inhabitants of the United provinces freed themſelves from the dominion of the ſea and of tyranny, they perceived that they could not fix the foundation of their liberty on a ſoil which did not afford even the neceſſaries of life. They were convinced, that commerce, which to moſt nations is no more than an acceſſion, a means only of increaſing the quantity and value of the produce of their reſpective countries, was to them the ſole baſis of their exiſtence. Without territory and without productions, they determined to give a value to thoſe of other nations, ſatisfied that their own would be the reſult of the general proſperity. The event juſtified their policy.

Their firſt ſtep eſtabliſhed, among the nations of Europe, an exchange of the commodities of the north with thoſe of the ſouth. In a ſhort time the ſea was covered with the ſhips of Holland. In her ports were collected all the commercial effects of different countries, and from thence they were diſperſed to their reſpective deſtinations. Here the value of every thing was regulated, and with a moderation which precluded all competition. The ambition of giving greater ſtability and extent to her enterpriſes, excited in the republic a ſpirit of conqueſt. Her empire extended itſelf over a part of the Indian continent, and over all the iſlands of conſequence in the ſea that encompaſſes it. By her fortreſſes, or her fleets, ſhe kept in ſubjection the coaſts of Africa, towards which her ambition, ever directed to uſeful objects, had turned its attentive and prudent views. Her laws were acknowledged only in thoſe countries of America where cultivation had ſowed the ſeeds of real wealth. The immenſe chain of her connections embraced the univerſe, of which, by toil and induſtry, ſhe became the ſoul. In a word, ſhe had attained the univerſal monarchy of commerce.

Such was the ſtate of the United provinces in 1661,

when the Portugueſe, recovering themſelves from that languor and inaction which the tyranny of Spain had thrown them into, found means to repoſſeſs themſelves of that part of Braſil which the Dutch had taken from them. From this firſt ſtroke, that republic would have loſt all footing in the New World, had it not been for a few ſmall iſlands, particularly that of Curaſſou, which they had taken in 1634 from the Caſtilians, who had been in poſſeſſion of it ever ſince 1527.

*Deſcription of the Dutch iſland of Curaſſou.*

This rock, which is not above three leagues off the coaſt of Venezuela, is about ten leagues long and five broad. It has an excellent harbour, but the entrance is difficult. The baſon is extremely large, and convenient in every reſpect; and it is defended by a fort ſkilfully conſtructed, and always kept in good repair.

The French, in 1673, having previouſly bribed the commandant, landed there to the number of five or ſix hundred men: but the treaſon having been diſcovered, and the traitor puniſhed, they were received by his ſucceſſor in a very different manner from what they expected, and reimbarked with the diſgrace of having expoſed only their own weakneſs, and the iniquity of their meaſures.

Lewis XIV, whoſe pride was hurt by this imprudent check, ſent out d'Eſtrees five years after with eighteen ſhips of war, and twelve buccaneering veſſels, to wipe off the ſtain, which in his eyes tarniſhed the glory of a reign filled with wonders. The admiral was not far from the place of his deſtination, when by his raſhneſs and obſtinacy he ran his ſhips aground on Davis's iſland; and, after collecting the ſhattered remains of his fleet, returned in very bad condition to Breſt, without having attempted any thing.

From this period neither Curaſſou, nor the little iſlands Aruba and Bonaire, which are dependent on it, have met with any diſturbance. No nation has thought of ſeizing upon a barren ſpot, where they could find only a few cattle, ſome manioc, ſome vegetables proper to feed ſlaves, and not one article for commerce. St. Euſtatia is of ſtill leſs conſequence.

*Description of the Dutch island of St. Eustatia.*

This island, which is only five leagues in length and one in breadth, is formed by two mountains, with a narrow vale between them. The eastern mountain bears evident traces of an ancient volcano, and is hollowed almost to the level of the sea. The borders of this gulf, which hath the figure of an inverted cone, are composed of rocks calcined by the fire they must have experienced. However plentiful the rains may be, there is never any collection of water in this crater. It is carried off undoubtedly through the channels of the volcano that still remain open, and may one day, perhaps, contribute to the re-kindling of it, if its focus be not extinguished, or at too great a distance.

Some Frenchmen, who had been driven from St. Christophers, took refuge, in 1629, in this almost uninhabitable place, and abandoned it some time after; perhaps because there was no fresh water, but what they got from rain collected in cisterns. The exact time of their quitting it is not known; but it is certain, that in 1639 the Dutch were in possession of it. They were afterwards driven out by the English, and these by Lewis XIV, who caused his right of conquest to be recognized in the negociation of Breda, and would not listen to the representations of the republic, with which he was then in alliance, and which pressed strongly for the restitution of this island, as having been in possession of it before the war. When the signing of the peace had put an end to these representations, the French monarch, whose pride more readily submitted to the dictates of generosity than of justice, thought it not consistent with his dignity to take advantage of the misfortunes of his friends. He of his own accord restored to the Dutch their island, although he knew that it was a natural fortress, which might be of service in defending that part of St. Christophers which belonged to him.

These republicans, before their disaster, cultivated only tobacco upon this territory. Since their re-establishment, they have planted in the places that were susceptible of this kind of culture, a few sugar-canes, from which they have only received annually eight or nine hundred thousand weight of raw sugar.

Soon after this, the colony ſent ſome of its inhabitants to a neighbouring iſland, known by the name of Saba. This is a ſteep rock, on the ſummit of which is a little ground, very proper for gardening. Frequent rains which do not lie any time on the ſoil, give growth to plants of an exquiſite flavour, and cabbages of an extraordinary ſize. Fifty European families, with about one hundred and fifty ſlaves, here raiſe cotton, ſpin it, make ſtockings of it, and ſell them to other colonies for as much as ten crowns [1l. 5s.] a pair. Throughout America there is no blood ſo pure as that of Saba; the women there preſerve a freſhneſs of complexion, which is not to be found in any other of the Caribbee iſlands. Happy colony! elevated on the top of a rock, between the ſky and ſea, it enjoys the benefit of both elements without dreading their ſtorms; it breathes a pure air, lives upon vegetables, cultivates a ſimple commodity, from which it derives eaſe, without the temptation of riches; is employed in labours leſs troubleſome than uſeful, and poſſeſſes in peace all the bleſſings of moderation, health, beauty, and liberty. This is the temple of peace from whence the philoſopher may contemplate at leiſure the errors and paſſions of men, who come, like the waves of the ſea, to ſtrike and daſh themſelves on the rich coaſts of America, the ſpoils and poſſeſſion of which they are perpetually contending for, and wreſting from each other; hence may he view at a diſtance the nations of Europe bearing thunder in the midſt of the ocean, and burning with the flames of ambition and avarice under the heats of the tropics; devouring gold without ever being ſatisfied; wading through ſeas of blood to amaſs thoſe metals, thoſe pearls, thoſe diamonds, which are uſed to adorn the oppreſſors of mankind; loading innumerable ſhips with thoſe precious caſks, which furniſh luxury with purple, and from which flow pleaſures, effeminacy, cruelty, and debauchery. The tranquil inhabitant of Saba views this maſs of follies, and ſpins his cotton in peace.

*Deſcription of the Dutch iſland of Saba.*

Under the ſame climate lies the iſland of St. Martin, which hath ſeventeen or eighteen leagues in circumference, but leſs territory than might be expected

*Deſcription of the iſland of St. Martin, part of which belongs to*

*the Dutch, and part to the French.*

from ſuch dimenſions, becauſe its bays are deep and numerous. The ocean hath formed, by puſhing the ſands from one cape to another, ſeveral lakes, more or leſs extenſive, and moſt of them abounding in fiſh. The inland part of the country is filled with high mountains, which extend almoſt everywhere as far as the ſea. They were covered with valuable trees, before they were ſtripped of that ornament, to make room for cultures, which they were found to be better adapted to than the plains and the valleys. The ſoil is generally light, ſtony, too much expoſed to frequent droughts, and not very fertile; but the ſky is pure, and the climate remarkably healthy. The navigation is ſafe and eaſy in theſe latitudes; and the multiplicity and excellence of the anchoring places that are found there, occaſions the want of harbours to be leſs ſenſibly felt.

The Dutch and French landed, in 1638, in this defert iſland, the firſt to the ſouth, and the latter towards the north. They lived there in peace, but ſeparate from each other, when the Spaniards, who were at open war with both nations, attacked them, beat them, made them priſoners, and took poſſeſſion of the place themſelves: but the conquerors ſoon grew weary of an eſtabliſhment, the preſervation of which was very expenſive, and from which they did not derive the leaſt advantage. They therefore quitted it in 1648, after having deſtroyed every thing they could not carry with them.

Theſe devaſtations did not hinder the former poſſeſſors from ſending ſome vagabonds to the iſland, as ſoon as they knew that it was evacuated. Theſe coloniſts ſwore a mutual faith to each other; and their deſcendants have been faithful to this engagement, notwithſtanding the animoſities that have ſo often diſunited the two mother-countries. But the diviſion of the territory, originally too unequal, hath been more equitably adjuſted. Of ten thouſand one hundred and eighty ſquares of ground, comprehending each two thouſand five hundred ſquare toiſes, which the iſland contains, the French poſſeſs no more than five thouſand nine hundred and four; and the Dutch have ſucceeded in appropriating to themſelves four thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-ſix.

The culture of tobacco was the firſt which the ſubjects of the court of Verſailles undertook at St. Martin. They abandoned it for indigo, which was ſucceeded by cotton, to which ſugar hath been added, ſince foreigners have been permitted, from the year 1769, to ſettle in this iſland. It reckons at preſent nineteen plantations, which yield annually one million weight of raw ſugar, of a beautiful white colour, but of little conſiſtence; and a ſtill greater number of dwellings, which produce two hundred thouſand weight of cotton. Theſe labours are managed by fourſcore families, thirty-two of which are French, and the reſt Engliſh, and which form together a population of three hundred and fifty-one white perſons, of every age and ſex. They have but twelve thouſand ſlaves. This is too little for the extent of the cultures: but the coloniſts of the Dutch part, who were proprietors of the beſt lands in the French part, have adopted the cuſtom of ſending their negroes to the north, when the labours on the ſouth are at an end. Before 1763, there had not been any regular ſyſtem of authority in this feeble and miſerable ſettlement. At this period a governor was given to it, who hath not yet attracted any trade from any other country. The French always go in queſt of what they want to their neighbour, and always deliver to him their productions.

The Dutch colony is inhabited by ſix hundred and thirty-nine white men, and three thouſand five hundred and eighteen blacks, employed in the cultivation of thirty-two ſugar plantations, which commonly produce ſixteen hundred thouſand weight of ſugar; and in the growth of one hundred and thirty thouſand cotton trees. This revenue, which is too inſufficient, is increaſed by the produce of a ſalt marſh, in the ſeaſons which are not exceſſively rainy. At the morning dawn, ſome ſoldiers embark upon flat-bottomed boats; they collect, during the courſe of the day, the ſalt which floats upon the ſurface of the water; and at night they return to ſhore, in order to begin again the next day this operation, which can only be continued during the months of June, July, and Auguſt. The neighbouring iſlands purchaſe a ſmall quantity of this production, the total value of which may amount to one hundred thouſand crowns [12,500l.] but it is principally ſent to the provinces of North America, who carry off likewiſe the rum

and the ſugar of the colony, while the cotton is delivered to the traders of Great Britain. Nothing, or ſcarce any thing, is left for the active merchants of the republic, and for the following reaſons.

The ſettlement of St. Martin, although it belong to the Dutch, is not inhabited by Dutchman. There are ſcarce five or ſix families of that nation to be found there, and thoſe are even almoſt aſhamed of their origin. All the reſt is Engliſh, the people, the language, and the manners. Prejudice hath been carried ſo far, as to induce the women often to go and lay-in at Anguilla, a Britiſh iſland, which is only two leagues diſtant, in order that their children may not be deprived of an origin, which is conſidered in the country as the only one that is illuſtrious.

*Advantages which the trade of Holland acquires from her iſlands.*

The domain of the United provinces, in the great archipelago of America, doth not offer any thing either curious or intereſting, at the firſt aſpect. Poſſeſſions, which ſcarce furniſh a cargo for ſix or ſeven ſmall veſſels, do not appear worthy of any attention. Accordingly, they would be buried in total oblivion, if ſome of theſe iſlands, which are nothing as places for cultivation, were not very conſiderable as commercial iſlands. We mean thoſe of St. Euſtatia and of Curaſſou.

The deſire of forming contraband connections with the Spaniſh provinces of the New World, decided the conqueſt of Curaſſou. A great number of Dutch veſſels ſoon arrived there. They were ſtrong, well armed, and their crews conſiſted of choice men, whoſe bravery was ſupported by powerful motives of intereſt. Each of them had a ſhare, more or leſs conſiderable, in the cargo, which he was determined to defend with his life againſt the attacks of the guarda coſtas.

The Spaniards did not always wait for the ſmugglers. They often reſorted of themſelves to a ſtaple, which was conſtantly well ſupplied, in order to barter their gold, their ſilver, their bark, their cacao, their tobacco, their hides, and their cattle, for negroes, linens, ſilks, Indian ſtuffs, ſpices, quickſilver, and iron or ſteel manufactures. This was a reciprocal connection of wants and of aſſiſtance, of

labours and of expeditions, between two nations, greedy of riches, and rivals of each other.

The ſettlement of the company of Caraccas, and the ſubſtitution of the regiſter ſhips to the galleons, hath much diminiſhed this communication: but the connections which have been formed with the ſouth part of the French colony of St. Domingo, have made up in ſome meaſure for this deficiency. Every thing is revived, when the two crowns are plunged into the horrors of war, either by their own ambition, or by the ambition of their rivals. Even in time of peace, the republic receives anually from Curaſſou, twelve veſſels laden with ſugar, coffee, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and hides, which have been cultivated in a foreign ſoil.

Every commodity, without exception, that is landed at Curaſſou, pays one per cent. port-duty. Dutch goods are never taxed higher; but thoſe that are ſhipped from other European ports pay nine per cent. more. Foreign coffee is ſubject to the ſame tax, in order to promote the ſale of that of Surinam. Every other production of America is ſubject only to a payment of three per cent. but with an expreſs ſtipulation, that they are to be conveyed directly to ſome port of the republic.

St. Euſtatia was formerly ſubject to the ſame impoſitions as Curaſſou; and yet it carried on moſt of the trade of Guadaloupe and of Martinico, during the time that theſe French ſettlements remained under the odious yoke of monopoly. This buſineſs diminiſhed in proportion as the proprietors of thoſe iſlands adopted ſound principles of commerce, and extended their navigation. The free port of St. Thomas was even carrying off from the Dutch the ſmall ſhare of trade they had ſtill retained, when in 1756 it was reſolved to aboliſh moſt of the eſtabliſhed taxes. Since this neceſſary alteration, St. Euſtatia, during the diviſions between the miniſters of London and Verſailles, is become the ſtaple of almoſt all the merchandize of the French colonies in the Leeward iſlands, and the general magazine of ſupply for them. But this great operation was not conducted ſingly by the Dutch; both Engliſh and French united in the harbour of this iſland, to form, under ſhelter of its neutrality, commercial engagements. A Dutch paſſport, which coſt leſs than 300 livres [12*l.* 10*s.*] concealed

these connections, and was granted, without inquiring of what nation the person was who applied for it. This great liberty gave rise to numberless transactions and to singular combinations. Thus it is that commerce found the art of pacifying or eluding the vigilance of discord.

The end of hostilities doth not render St. Eustatia of less importance. It still sends annually to the United provinces, twenty-five or thirty vessels, laden with the productions of the Spanish and Danish, and especially of the French, islands, which it pays for with the merchandize of the two hemispheres, or with bills of exchange upon Europe.

All these transactions have brought together, at St. Eustatia, six thousand white people, of various nations, five hundred negroes or mulattoes, and eight thousand slaves. A governor, assisted by a council, without which nothing material can be decided, directs, under the authority of the West-India company, this singular settlement, as well as those of Saba and St. Martin. He resides near a very dangerous anchorage, which, however, is the only one of the island where the vessels can land and take in their cargoes. This bad harbour is protected by a small fort, and by a garrison of fifty men. If it were defended with vigour and skill, the most daring enemy would, in all probability, fail in attempting a descent, which, if even effected, the besieger would still find an almost insurmountable difficulty to conquer, in ascending from the lower town, where the magazines are kept, to the upper town, where all the inhabitants are assembled in the night time.

The Dutch, however, equally ingenious in finding out the means of turning to their own advantage both the prosperity and the misfortunes of others, are not entirely confined, in the New World, to the fluctuating profits of a precarious trade. The republic possesses and cultivates, on the continent, a large territory in the country known by the name of Guyana.

*Philosophical considerations on Guyana.*

This is a vast country, washed on the east by the sea, on the south by the Amazon, on the north by the Oronooko, and on the west by Rio-Negro, which joins these two rivers, that are the largest in South America.

This ſingular iſland preſents three remarkable circumſtances. The ſeveral ſpecies of earth are not here diſpoſed, as they are elſewhere, in layers, but caſually mixed, and without any order. In the correſpondent hills, the ſalient angles of the one are not anſwerable to the re-entering angles of the others. The ſubſtances, which have been generally taken for flints, are nothing more than pieces of lava, that are beginning to be decompounded.

It follows from theſe obſervations, that ſome revolutions have happened in this part of the globe, and that they have been the work of ſubterraneous fires, at preſent extinguiſhed; that the conflagration has been general, becauſe maſſes are everywhere ſeen, filled with the ſcoriæ of iron; and that calcareous ſtones, which probably have been all calcined, are not to be found in any part: that the exploſion muſt have been very conſiderable, and muſt have levied a great quantity of earth, becauſe volcanoes are only to be found upon the higheſt mountains, and that the only one on which the crater hath been perceived in theſe regions, is raiſed little more than a hundred feet above the level of the ſea.

At the period of theſe great accidents of nature, every thing muſt have been ſubverted. The fields muſt have remained uncovered, alternately expoſed to the action of torrents of rain, or to the effects of exceſſive heat. In this ſtate of revolution, many centuries muſt have elapſed before the ſoil can have again become fit to nouriſh the plants, and after them the trees. We might however be liable to miſtake, if we were to compute this change at an exceſſive diſtance. The ſmall quantity of vegetating earth found in Guyana, although ſome be continually formed there by the decompoſition of the trees, would furniſh an unanſwerable argument againſt the idea of a very remote antiquity.

In the inland parts of the country, the ſoil is therefore, and will continue for a long time, ungrateful. The upper lands, that is to ſay, thoſe which are not under water, or marſhy, are for the moſt part nothing more than a confuſed mixture of clay and chalk, where nothing can grow but manioc, yams, potatoes, and ſome other plants, which do not turn round on the ſtem; and even theſe are too frequently rooted in the ſeaſon of heavy rains, becauſe the water cannot be drained off. Even in thoſe lands, which

are neceſſarily looked upon as good, the coffee, the cacao, the cotton plants, and all the uſeful trees, laſt but for a very ſhort time, and not ſufficiently to reward the labours of the cultivator. Such is, without exception, the interior part of Guyana.

Its ſhores preſent another ſpectacle. The numerous rivers, which from this vaſt ſpace precipitate themſelves in the ocean, depoſit inceſſantly upon their borders, and upon the whole coaſt, a prodigious quantity of ſeeds, which germinate in the ſlime, and produce, in leſs than ten years, lofty trees, known by the name of mangroves. Theſe large vegetables, attached to their baſis by deep roots, occupy all the ſpace where the tide is perceptible. They form vaſt foreſts, covered with four or five feet of water during flood, and at the time of ebb, with an equal depth of a ſoft and inacceſſible mud.

This ſpectacle, which is perhaps not to be equalled in the univerſe, varies every year upon the coaſt. In the places where ſands are brought and accumulated by the currents, the mangrove periſhes with great rapidity, and the foreſts are carried away by the waves, and diſappear. Theſe revolutions are leſs frequent on the borders of the rivers, where the ſands, brought from the mountains during the ſtorms, are conveyed to a diſtance by the rapidity of the waters.

The revolutions are the ſame upon the coaſt of four hundred leagues, which extends from the Amazon to the Oronooko. There is everywhere found, upon the ſhore, a line of mangroves, alternately deſtroyed and renewed by the ſlime and by the ſand. Behind this row, at the diſtance of four or five hundred feet, are found ſavannahs, deluged by the rain waters, which have no drain; and theſe ſavannahs are always extended laterally towards the ſhore, to a depth more or leſs conſiderable, according to the diſtance or nearneſs of the mountains.

Theſe immenſe moraſſes have never been paſſed by any thing but reptiles ſince the creation. The genius of man, prevailing over an ungrateful and rebellious ſoil, hath altered their primitive deſtination. It is in the midſt of theſe ſtagnating, infectious, and muddy, waters, that the ſpirit of liberty hath formed three uſeful ſettlements, the moſt conſiderable of which is Surinam.

*Settlement formed by the Dutch in Guyana, upon the river Surinam.*

Six years afterwards, there appeared in this forſaken ſpot ſome of thoſe Frenchmen, whom a reſtleſs diſpoſition then hurried into all climates, and whom their volatile turn prevented from ſettling in moſt of them. They maſſacred the natives of the country, began to conſtruct a fort, and diſappeared.

Their retreat brought back, in 1650, the nation that had firſt turned their attention to that ſo long neglected part of the new hemiſphere. The colony had formed forty or fifty ſugar plantations, when it was attacked and taken by the Dutch, who were ſecured in their conqueſt by the treaty of Breda.

Zealand pretended to have the excluſive right over this uſeful acquiſition, becauſe it had been gained by their troops and their ſhips. The other provinces, who had ſhared the expences of the expedition, inſiſted that it ſhould belong in common to them all. This diſcuſſion had for a long time inflamed the minds of the people, when it was reſolved in 1682, that Surinam ſhould be given up to the Weſt-India company, but upon condition that they ſhould pay 572,000 livres [23,833l. 6s. 8d.] to the Zealanders; that the trade of the company ſhould be limited to the ſale of ſlaves; and that the country ſhould be open to all the ſubjects and to all the traders of the republic.

Although the imagination of this great company was filled with remembrance of their former proſperity, they ſoon comprehended, that the expences required to eſtabliſh cultures throughout an immenſe region were above their exhauſted ſtrength. The year following they ceded one third of their right to the city of Amſterdam, and one third to a rich citizen, whoſe name was Van Aarſen, at a price proportioned to what they themſelves paid for it. This extraordinary arrangement laſted till 1772, at which period the deſcendants of Van Aarſen ſold their property for 1,540,000 livres [64,166l. 13s. 4d.] to the two other members of the aſſociation.

The company found Surinam plunged into thoſe diſorders which are the neceſſary conſequence of a long ſtate of anarchy. Their repreſentatives wanted to eſtabliſh ſome kind of police, ſome kind of juſtice. He was accuſed of

tyranny to the ſtates-general, and maſſacred in 1688 by the troops.

The colony was attacked the year following by the French, under the command of Ducaſſe. The ſkill of this chief, and the efforts of the brave adventurers who attended him, were not powerful enough againſt a ſettlement, where the civil and military troubles had cauſed a fermentation in the minds of men, who had juſt been reconciled by a proſpect of imminent danger. Caſſard, a native of St. Malo, was more fortunate in 1712. He laid Surinam under contributions, and carried off to the amount of 1,370,160 livres [57,290l.] in ſugar, or in bills of exchange. This diſaſter, ſo much more unexpected as it happened at a time when the arms of the republic were triumphant everywhere elſe, diſtreſſed the planters, who were obliged to give a tenth of their capitals.

The ſociety were accuſed of having neglected the fortifications, and of having employed, to defend them, only a few troops, and thoſe ill-diſciplined. Theſe complaints were ſoon extended to more ſerious objects. The reaſons, or the pretences for diſcontent, were multiplied daily. The ſtates-general, wearied with all theſe conteſts, charged the ſtadtholder to put an end to them in whatever manner he might think the moſt proper. This firſt magiſtrate had not yet ſucceeded in conciliating the minds of the people, when it became neceſſary to attend to the ſafety of the colony.

Scarce had the Engliſh ſettled on the banks of the Surinam, before ſeveral of their ſlaves took refuge in the inland countries. The deſertion was ſtill more conſiderable under the Dutch dominion, becauſe they required more conſtant labours, becauſe the quantity of ſubſiſtence was diminiſhed, and more ſevere puniſhments were inflicted. Theſe fugitives, in proceſs of time, became numerous enough to form a colony. They uſed to quit their place of refuge in a body, in order to ſupply themſelves with proviſions, arms, and inſtruments of agriculture; and they brought back with them the negroes who choſe to go with them. Some attempts were made to put a ſtop to theſe excurſions; but they were fruitleſs, and could not be otherwiſe. Soldiers grown effeminate, officers without merit and without a ſenſe of honour, had an inſurmountable averſion for a war,

where deep moraſſes and thick foreſts were to be paſſed, in order to get within reach of a bold and implacable enemy.

The danger became at laſt ſo urgent, that the republic thought proper to ſend, in 1749, in 1772, and in 1774, ſome of their beſt battalions to the aſſiſtance of the colony. All that theſe brave men, arrived from Europe, have been able to accompliſh, after various and bloody engagements, has been to procure ſome kind of tranquillity to the planters, who were before every day in danger of being either ruined or murdered. It hath been neceſſary ſucceſſively to acknowledge the independence of ſeveral numerous hordes, but which have no communication with each other, and are ſeparated by conſiderable diſtances. Annual preſents are ſent them, and it hath been ſtipulated that they ſhould enjoy all the advantages of a free trade. Theſe new nations have on their part agreed only to aſſiſt their ally, if it be neceſſary; and to return them every ſlave who ſhall take refuge upon their territory. To give a ſanction to theſe ſeveral treaties, the plenipotentiaries of the contracting parties have cauſed an inciſion to be made in their arms. The blood was received in vaſes filled with water and earth. This diſguſting mixture hath been drunk on both ſides, in token of fidelity. If they had refuſed to ſubmit to this extreme humiliating ſtep, theſe oppreſſive maſters would never have obtained a peace from their former ſlaves.

*Cauſes of the proſperity of the colony of Suriam.*

After ſo many fatal events, the colony is ſtill become more flouriſhing than could have been expected. The cauſes of this ſurpriſing proſperity cannot but be curious and intereſting.

The firſt Europeans who ſettled in thoſe barbarous regions, eſtabliſhed their cultures at firſt upon heights, which were commonly barren. It was ſoon ſuſpected that their ſaline particles had been detached by the torrents; and that it was from theſe ſucceſſive layers of an excellent ſlime, that the lower grounds had been formed. Some fortunate experiments confirmed this judicious conjecture; and it was determined to take advantage of ſo great a diſcovery. This was not an eaſy undertaking, but the deſire of ſucceſs ſurmounted all obſtacles.

Theſe vaſt plains are overflowed by the rivers with which

they are watered, but not during the whole year. Even in the ſeaſon of the overflowings, the waters are diffuſed a little before and a little after the times of high water. During the ebb, the rivers retire gradually, and at low water are ſometimes ſeveral feet below the ſoil, which they covered ſix hours before.

The drying up of theſe grounds muſt be begun when the rains are not abundant, and when the rivers are low. This ſeaſon begins in Auguſt, and ends in the month of December. During this period, the ſpace which is to be ſecured from inundations is ſurrounded with a dike, ſufficient to reſiſt the waters. It is ſeldom neceſſary to raiſe it above three feet high, becauſe it is not uſual to chooſe a territory that is more than two feet under water, to ſettle a plantation upon.

At one of the corners of the dike, which is made of the earth of the ditch digged for that purpoſe, is an hydraulic machine, entirely open on one ſide, cut on the other in the ſhape of a beak, and furniſhed with a flood-gate, which is opened by the impulſe of the waters from below upwards, and which ſhuts again by its own weight. When the agitation of the ſea ſwells the waves, the rivers preſs upon this flood-gate, and cloſe it ſo effectually, that the waters on the outſide cannot get into it. When, on the contrary, the rivers are low, the internal and rain waters, if there be any, raiſe the gate up, and the waters run off very eaſily.

In the inner part of the dike, at different diſtances from each other, a few ſlight trenches are made. They all terminate in a ditch, which ſurrounds the plantation. This precaution contributes to raiſe the ſoil, and to carry off any ſuperfluous moiſture that might remain.

The labours of one year are ſufficient to ſurround the territory which is intended to be incloſed. It is ploughed the ſecond year, and might be cultivated at the beginning of the third, if it were not abſolutely neceſſary to leave it for a ſufficient length of time expoſed to the influence of the freſh water, in order to counteract the action of the marine ſalts. This circumſtance neceſſarily retards the crops more than could be wiſhed; but the abundance of them compenſates for the delay.

The coffee-tree, which is generally planted in other co-

lonies upon the ſloping grounds, leaves ſooner or later a void, which cannot be filled up, either by another coffee-tree, or by any other plant, becauſe the ſtorms have ſucceſſively deprived this ſoil of every thing that rendered it fertile. This is not the caſe at Surinam. This valuable tree doth not, indeed, preſerve it vigour more than about twenty years; but the young plants, put between the old ones, and intended to ſucceed them, prevent the planter from being ſenſible of this premature decay. This is the reaſon that the crops are never interrupted. They are even more plentiful than in the other ſettlements.

The diſpoſition of the ſugar plantations, in thoſe ſingular marſhes, have this peculiarity attending them, that the territory is interſected by ſeveral ſmall canals, deſtined for the conveyance of the ſugar canes.

They all terminate in the great canal, which receives the waters when they riſe, by one of its outlets; and by the other works a mill, when they deſcend. The firſt production in theſe plantations is very indifferent; but it acquires, in proceſs of time, the proper degree of perfection. This may be waited for with leſs impatience in a region where the canes, at their fifth or ſixth crop, yield as much ſugar as is obtained elſewhere from the new planted canes. One of the principles of this fertility muſt be, the facility with which the planters can ſurround their habitations with water during the dry ſeaſon. The habitual moiſture which this method keeps up in the grounds, appears preferable to the watering of them, which is practiſed in other parts at a conſiderable expence, and which cannot even be always done everywhere.

Since the Dutch have ſucceeded in ſubduing the ocean in the New World as well as in the Old, their cultures have proſpered. They have carried them on twenty leagues beyond the ſea, and given to their plantations an agreeable aſpect and convenience, which are not to be perceived in the moſt flouriſhing poſſeſſions of the Engliſh or French. Spacious and well-contrived buildings, terraces perfectly ſtraight, kitchen gardens exquiſitely neat, delightful orchards, and walks planted with ſymmetry, ſtrike the eye on all ſides. So many wonders, accompliſhed in leſs than a century, in ſloughs that were originally diſguſting and unwholeſome, cannot be viewed without emotion. But the

ſevere eye of reaſon puts a reſtraint on the tranſports excited by this enchanting ſcene. The capitals employed in theſe ſuperfluities would be more wiſely laid out in the multiplication of vendible productions.

One of the means by which labour, and that kind of luxury that hath been introduced, have been chiefly encouraged, has been the extreme facility which the coloniſts have found in getting a capital. They have obtained all the money they could make uſe of, at the rate of five or ſix per cent. but with the expreſs condition, that their plantations ſhould remain mortgaged to their creditor; and that till the ſum was entirely paid off, they ſhould be obliged to give up to him all their productions at the current price in the colony.

*Preſent ſtate of the colony of Surinam, and extent of its debts.*

With the aſſiſtance of theſe loans, four hundred and thirty plantations have been formed on the banks of the Surinam, of the Commenwine, of the rivers of Cottica and of Perica. In 1775, they yielded twenty-four millions one hundred and twenty thouſand weight of rough ſugar, which was ſold in Holland for 8,333,400 livres [347,225l.] fifteen millions three hundred and eighty-ſeven pounds weight of coffee, which were ſold for 8,580,934 livres [357,538l. 18s. 4d.] nine hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds weight of cotton, which were ſold for 2,372,255 livres [98,843l. 19s. 2d.] ſeven hundred and ninety thouſand eight hundred and fifty-four pounds weight of cacao, which were ſold for 616,370 livres [25,682l. 1s. 8d.] one hundred and fifty-two thouſand eight hundred and forty-four pounds weight of wood for dying, which were ſold for 14,788 livres [616l. 13s. 4d.] The ſum total of theſe productions amounted to 19,917,747 livres [822,905l. 19s. 2d.] and was brought into the harbours of the republic upon ſeventy veſſels. The number of theſe veſſels would have increaſed, if the five hundred and ſixty thouſand gallons of molaſſes, and the hundred and ſixty-ſix gallons of rum, ſent to North America, had been conveyed to Europe; and they will ſtill increaſe, if the tobacco which hath juſt begun to be planted, ſhould thrive as well as is expected.

The united labours of theſe ſettlements, employed in

1775, ſixty thouſand ſlaves of every age and ſex. They belonged to two thouſand eight hundred and twenty-four maſters, excluſive of the women and children. The white people were of ſeveral countries and of different religions.

Such is the influence of the ſpirit of trade, that it forces all national and religious prejudices to ſubmit to that general intereſt, which ſhould be the bond of union among mankind. What are thoſe idle nominal diſtinctions of Jews or chriſtians, French or Dutch? Miſerable inhabitants of a ſpot, which ye cultivate with ſo much toil and ſorrow, are ye not all brethren? Why then do ye drive each other from a world, where ye live but for an inſtant? And what a life too is it, that ye have the folly and cruelty to diſpute with each other the enjoyment of? Is it not ſufficient, that the elements, the heavens, and even the earth, combat againſt you, but ye muſt add to thoſe ſcourges, with which nature hath ſurrounded you, the abuſe of that little ſtrength ſhe has left you to reſiſt them?

Paramaibiro, the principal place of the colony of Surinam, is a ſmall town pleaſantly ſituated. The houſes are pretty and convenient; though they are only built of wood upon a foundation of European bricks. Its port, which is five leagues diſtant from the ſea, has every requiſite that can be deſired. It is the rendezvous of all the ſhips diſpatched from the mother-country to receive the produce of this colony. The company to which this large ſettlement belongs, is obliged to defray the public expences. The ſovereign hath enabled them to fulfil this obligation, by permitting them to levy ſome taxes, which cannot be increaſed without the conſent of the ſtate and of the inhabitants. A poll-tax of one hundred ſols [4*s.* 2*d.*] upon every free adult or ſlave, and of ſixty ſols [2*s.* 6*d.*] for every child, was formerly the higheſt of theſe contributions. In 1776, it hath been changed for another leſs degrading, of ſix per cent. upon the productions of the country, upon the profits of trade, and upon the wages of the ſeveral occupations. Nevertheleſs, the payment of two and a half per cent. for the commodities which were exported from the colony, and of one and a half per cent. for thoſe which were imported, hath not been diſcontinued. Theſe taxes united, are ſcarce ſufficient for the great object for which they are deſigned, and there is ſeldom any thing remaining for the benefit of the company.

Beſide the taxes levied for the company, there is one which is rather conſiderable, upon the productions of the colony, which the citizens have agreed to eſtabliſh themſelves for their reſpective wants, and eſpecially for the pay of three hundred free negroes, who are employed in protecting the cultures from the incurſions of the fugitive negroes.

Notwithſtanding all theſe impoſts, and notwithſtanding the obligation of paying the intereſt of 77,000,000 livres [3,208,333l. 6s. 8d.] the colony was in a flouriſhing ſtate, while its productions had a certain and advantageous mart. But ſince coffee hath loſt in trade one half of its former price, every thing is fallen into extreme confuſion; the debtor is become inſolvent, hath been driven from his plantation. Even the moſt mercileſs creditor hath not been able to recover his capital, and they have both been ruined. Men have become ſtill more exaſperated againſt each other, their minds have been depreſſed, and it is difficult to foreſee at what period concord and induſtry will revive. Let us examine what hath been the fate of Berbice, during this fatal criſis.

*Foundation of the colony of Berbice. Its paſt misfortunes and its preſent miſery.*

This ſettlement, bounded on the eaſt by the river Corentin, and on the weſt by the territory of Demerary, extends no more than ten leagues along the coaſt. In the inland part of the country it might reach as far as that part of the Cordelerias, known by the name of the Blue mountains. The great river from which it hath derived its name, being choked up at its mouth by a bank of mud and ſand, hath at firſt no more than fourteen or fifteen feet in depth, but it ſoon acquires forty; and its navigation is eaſy as far as thirty-ſix leagues from the ſea, which is the utmoſt extent of the moſt diſtant plantations.

The foundations of this colony were laid in 1626. As it was formed in a diſtrict included in the grant given to the Weſt-India company, that body, which was at that time powerful and ſtrongly protected, reſerved to themſelves ſome privileges, and more eſpecially the excluſive ſale of ſlaves. The culture of ſugar and arnotto, which were the only articles attended to, had not made any conſiderable

progreſs, when, in 1689, ſome French adventurers ravaged the country, and did not leave it till they had extorted the promiſe of 44,000 livres [1,833l. 6s. 8d.] which were never paid. Some Frenchmen invaded the colonies again in 1712. In order to eſcape pillage, and to get rid of theſe foreigners, the inhabitants engaged to give them 660,000 livres [27,500l.] The negroes, the ſugar, and the proviſions which were delivered, amounted to 28,654 livres 4 ſols [1,193l. 18s. 6d.] the remainder was to be paid in Europe by the proprietors of the habitations, who all belonged to the province of Zealand. Whether from inability, or through deſign, they refuſed to ratify an engagement entered into without their conſent. Three rich individuals of Amſterdam fulfilled the obligation, and became ſole proprietors of Berbice.

They conducted themſelves with prudence and moderation. They reſtored the ancient plantations, they introduced a better method among thoſe who cultivated them; they added the culture of cacao to thoſe which were already known: but their capital was not ſufficient to raiſe the colony to that degree of proſperity of which it appeared to be ſuſceptible; 7,040,000 livres [293,333l. 6s. 8d.] were thought neceſſary for this great object, and ſixteen ſhares, each of 4,400 livres [183l. 6s. 8d.] were created. They were not able to diſpoſe of more than nine hundred and forty-one, upon which even the purchaſers did not furniſh more than 42 per cent. Thus the new capital was reduced to 1,573,352 livres [65,556l. 6s. 8d.] out of which 1,320,000 livres [55,000l.] belonged to the former company for the ceſſion of all their property; ſo that the remainder of the money amounted to no more than 273,352 livres [11,389l. 13s. 4d.]

This was a very ſmall ſum to anſwer the intended purpoſe. The proprietors were themſelves ſo well convinced of it, that in 1730 they required that every ſubject of the ſtate ſhould be allowed to trade to Berbice and to ſettle there, upon condition of paying in America ſix livres [5s.] poll-tax for every white man, and for every negro they ſhould place upon their habitation 55 livres [2l. 5s. 10d.] per plantation, towards the eccleſiaſtical contribution; two and a half per cent. for all the merchandize which ſhould enter the colony, or for the proviſions which ſhould be

carried out of it; and in Europe 3 livres [2s. 6d.] per ton, for every thing they ſhould receive from the ports of the republic, and 3 livres [2s. 6d.] per ton for every article they ſhould ſend there. With theſe aſſiſtances, the company engaged to defray all the expences that ſhould be wanted for government, for defence, for the police, and for the legiſlation of that ſettlement. The ſtates-general approved of this plan, and gave it the ſanction of their laws, by a decree of the 6th December 1732.

A tolerable degree of activity was the fortunate reſult of theſe new arrangements. Every thing was in a proſperous ſtate, when, in 1756, the white people, and they alone, were attacked with an epidemical diſorder, which laſted ſeven years, and deſtroyed the greateſt number of them. The ſtate of weakneſs to which Berbice was reduced by this calamity, encouraged the ſlaves to rebel in 1763. Upon the firſt intimation of this inſurrection, twenty ſoldiers, and a few coloniſts who had eſcaped the contagion, took refuge upon four veſſels that were in the river, and ſoon after ſecured themſelves in a redoubt built near the ocean. They were at length enabled, by the aſſiſtance ſent from all quarters to them, to return to their plantations, and even to ſubdue the negroes; but their authority was eſtabliſhed only upon ruins and upon dead bodies.

The company being ruined, as well as the inhabitants, were obliged to call upon the holders of ſhares for a contribution of eight per cent. which made up the ſum of 330,000 livres [13,750l.] and to borrow 1,100,000 livres [45,833l. 6s. 8d.] of the province of Holland, at the intereſt of two and a half per cent. Theſe ſums not being yet ſufficient to fulfil their obligations, they obtained of the republic in 1774, that the taxes levied till this period ſhould for the future be doubled. The new taxes threw the planters, already too much diſcouraged by the total loſs of their cacao trees, and by the enormous reduction of the price of their coffee, into deſpair. Accordingly this ſettlement, upon which ſo great hopes had been founded, is continually decreaſing.

There are but one hundred and four plantations in the colony, moſt of which are inconſiderable, ſcattered at great diſtances upon the banks of the river Berbice, or upon that of Canje, which empties itſelf in the firſt, at three leagues

diſtance from the ſea. Their population conſiſts of ſeven thouſand ſlaves of every age and ſex, and of two hundred and fifty white men, excluſive of the ſoldiers, who ought to amount to the ſame number. The coffee, the ſugar, and cotton, they produce annually, is conveyed to the mother-country upon four or five ſhips, and is not ſold for more than one million, or twelve hundred thouſand livres [from 41,666l. 13s. 4d. to 50,000l.] From this ſum an intereſt of ſix per cent. ought to be deducted, which the coloniſts have engaged to pay for about 1,760,000 livres [73,333l. 6s. 8d.] which they have borrowed; but this is an obligation which it is not in their power to fulfil. The lenders are obliged to be ſatisfied with four, three, or two, per cent. Several of them even do not receive any thing.

Although, according to the calculations delivered in 1772 to the ſtates-general, the annual expences of ſovereignty do not exceed in Europe and in America 190,564 livres [7,940l. 3s. 4d.] the company are nevertheleſs in a deſperate ſituation. From 1720 to 1763, the united dividends have not amounted to more than 61 per cent. which makes, one year with another, no more than 1 4/7. After this period there hath been no more dividend. Accordingly, the ſhares, which have coſt 2,200 livres [91l. 13s. 4d.] are no longer marketable; they would not ſell for 210 livres [4l. 11s. 8d.] A very different idea muſt be formed of the colony of Eſſequibo.

*Antiquity of the colony of Eſſequibo. Cauſe of its proſperity, after having remained for a long time in a languid ſtate.*

This river, twelve leagues diſtant from that of Berbice, firſt attracted the attention of the Dutch, who, as well as the other Europeans, infeſted Guyana with their plunders towards the end of the ſixteenth century, in hopes of finding gold there. It is unknown at what preciſe period they ſettled at Eſſequibo; but it is certain that they were driven from it by the Spaniards in 1595.

It is evident that theſe republicans returned to their poſt, ſince they were again expelled from it in 1666 by the Engliſh, and even they could not maintain themſelves there for one whole year. This ſettlement, which had always been inconſiderable, was reduced to nothing when the Dutch

retook poſſeſſion of it. In 1740 its productions did not form more than the cargo of one ſingle veſſel.

Two or three years after, ſome of the coloniſts of Eſſequibo turned their attention towards the neighbouring river of Demerary. Its borders were found very fertile, and this diſcovery was attended with fortunate circumſtances.

For ſome time paſt the clearing of the lands had been ſuſpended at Surinam, by the bloody and ruinous war which the coloniſts ſuſtained againſt the negroes aſſembled in the woods. Berbice was likewiſe diſturbed by the revolt of its ſlaves. The Weſt-India company ſeized this favourable opportunity of inviting enterpriſing men of all nations, to ſhare in the grant that had been made to them. Thoſe who arrived there with a ſmall ſhare of property, received gratuitouſly a certain extent of territory, with ſome other encouragements. They were even aſſured, that after their firſt labours, they ſhould obtain a loan of the value of three fifths of the ſettlements they ſhould have formed upon moderate terms. This arrangement became a fruitful ſource of induſtry, of activity, and of economy. In 1769, there were already eſtabliſhed upon the banks of the Demerary, one hundred and thirty habitations, in which ſugar, coffee, and cotton, were cultivated with ſucceſs. The number of plantations hath much increaſed ſince that period, and it will ſtill increaſe a great deal more.

*Confuſion that prevails in the Dutch colonies.*

SUCH is the ſtate of the three colonies which the Dutch have ſucceſſively formed in Guyana. It is deplorable, and will remain ſo for a long while, perhaps for ever, unleſs government in their wiſdom, in their generoſity, and in their courage, can ſuggeſt ſome expedient to relieve the planters from the oppreſſive burden of the debts which they have contracted.

In modern times, the governments themſelves have ſet the example of loans. The facility of obtaining them at an intereſt more or leſs burthenſome, hath engaged or ſupported almoſt all of them, in wars, incompatible with their natural reſources. This folly hath infected the cities, the provinces, and the ſeveral aſſociations of men. The large trading companies have alſo greatly extended this cuſtom;

and it hath afterwards become familiar to bold men, urged by their diſpoſition to extraordinary enterpriſes.

The Dutch, who, in proportion to their territory and to their population, had accumulated a greater quantity of metals than any other people, and who did not find a uſe for them in their own tranſactions, extenſive even as they were, have endeavoured to place them to advantage in the public funds of all nations, and even in the ſpeculative undertakings of individuals. Their money hath ſerved particularly to cultivate ſome foreign colonies in America, and principally their own. But the precaution they had taken of having the plantations of their debtors mortgaged to them, hath not produced the effect which they expected from it. They have never been reimburſed their capital, and have even never received the intereſt of their money, ſince the proviſions of thoſe ſettlements have been reduced in their price. The contracts made with the planters, who are reduced to a ſtate of indigence, have fallen fifty, ſixty, eighty, per cent. below their original value.

This is a matter totally ruinous. It would be in vain to examine, whether it muſt be attributed to the avidity of the merchants ſettled at Amſterdam, or to the inactivity and idle expences of the coloniſts removed beyond the ſeas. Theſe diſcuſſions would not diminiſh the evil. We will leave ſuch idle queſtions to be diſcuſſed by idle men, let them write and diſpute; if no good ſhould reſult from this, there is not much harm in it. But it is exertion, and not diſcourſe, that is required in a conflagration. While time would be loſt in examining what hath been the cauſe of the fire, what ravages it hath made, and what its progreſs hath been, the building would be reduced to aſhes. A matter of a very urgent nature ſhould engage the attention of the ſtates-general. Let them relieve that vaſt extent of country ſubject to Holland, from the river Poumaron to that of Marony, from the anxiety it labours under, and from the miſery with which it is oppreſſed, and let them afterwards remove the other obſtacles which ſo obſtinately impede its advancement.

That difficulty which ariſes from the climate, appears the moſt unſurmountable. In this region, the year is divided between continual rains and exceſſive heats. Diſguſting reptiles are inceſſantly attacking the crops purchaſed by

the moſt aſſiduous labours. The coloniſts run the riſk of periſhing, either by dropſies, or by fevers of all kind. Authority is unavailing againſt theſe ſcourges of nature. The only remedy, if there can be one, muſt be the work of time, of population, and of the clearing of the lands.

What the laws can, and what they ought to do, would be to unite to the body of the republic, poſſeſſions which are in a manner caſually abandoned to private aſſociations, who do not attend ſufficiently, or in a proper manner, to the ſeveral parts of adminiſtration in the countries ſubject to their monopoly. States have been all convinced, ſooner or later, of the inconvenience of leaving the provinces they have invaded in the other hemiſphere to chartered companies, whoſe intereſts ſeldom coincided with thoſe of the public. They have at length underſtood, that the diſtance did not alter the nature of the expreſs or tacit covenant made between adminiſtration and the ſubjects; and that when the ſubjects have ſaid, we will obey, we will ſerve, we will contribute to the formation and to the maintenance of the public ſtrength, and that the miniſtry have anſwered, we will protect you within by our police and by our laws, and without by negociations and by arms, theſe conditions ought equally to be fulfilled on both ſides, from one bank of a river to the oppoſite ſide, from one ſhore of the ſea to that which is oppoſed to it: they have underſtood, that the ſtipulated protection being withdrawn, the obedience and the promiſed ſuccours were of courſe ſuſpended; that if the aſſiſtances ſhould be required, when the protection had ceaſed, adminiſtration would degenerate into a tyrannical ſyſtem of plunder; and that the people were releaſed from the oath of fidelity towards them; that they were intitled to free themſelves from a bad maſter, and at liberty to chooſe another; that they returned to a ſtate of abſolute freedom, and recovered the prerogative of inſtituting any form of government that might be thought moſt ſuitable to them. From theſe circumſtances, ſtates have concluded, that their ſubjects of the New World had as much right as thoſe of the Old, to depend upon government only; and that their colonies would be in a more flouriſhing condition under the immediate protection of the ſtate, than under that of any intervening power. The ſucceſs hath generally demonſtrated the ſolidity of theſe views. None but the

United provinces have adhered to the original plan. This infatuation cannot laſt; whenever it ſhall be diſſipated, the revolution will be effected without commotion, becauſe none of the aſſociations which muſt be aboliſhed have any intereſt in oppoſing it: it will even be accompliſhed without embarraſſment, becauſe none of thoſe aſſociations have one ſingle veſſel, or carry on the leaſt trade. The Dutch poſſeſſions in Guyana will then form one entire ſtate, capable of making ſome reſiſtance.

In the preſent ſtate of things, Berbice and Eſſequibo are ſcarce able to repulſe an enterpriſing pirate, and would be obliged to capitulate at the appearance of the ſmalleſt ſquadron. The eaſtern part, which by its wealth is expoſed to greater danger, is better defended. The entrance of the Surinam river is not very practicable, on account of its ſand-banks. Ships, however, that do not draw more than twenty feet water, can come in at flood. At two leagues from its outlet, the Commenwine joins the Surinam. This point of union the Dutch have principally fortified. They have erected a battery on the Surinam, another on the right bank of the Commenwine, and on the left bank a citadel called Amſterdam. Theſe works form a triangle; and their fires, which croſs each other, are contrived to have the double effect of preventing ſhips from proceeding further up one river, and from entering into the other. The fortreſs is ſituated in the middle of a ſmall moraſs, and is inacceſſible, except by a narrow cauſeway entirely commanded by the artillery. It requires no more than eight or nine hundred men to garriſon it completely. It is flanked with four baſtions, and ſurrounded with a mud rampart, a wide ditch full of water, and a good covered-way: for the reſt, it is unprovided with powder magazines, hath no vaults, nor any kind of caſement. Three leagues higher up on the Surinam, is a maſked battery, intended to cover the harbour and town of Paramabiro. It is called Fort Zealand. A battery of the ſame kind, which they call Sommefwelt fort, covers the Commenwine at nearly the ſame diſtance. The forces of the colony conſiſt of its militia, and twelve hundred regulars, and of two companies of artillery.

If this ſettlement were united to the two others, and if all theſe divided territories were joined, they would mutually aſſiſt each other. The republic itſelf, accuſtomed to

caſt a watchful eye upon a domain become more particularly its own property, would protect it with all its power. The ſea and land forces would be employed to ſhelter it from the dangers with which it might be threatened on the ſide of Europe, and to relieve it from the ſtate of anxiety with which it is continually agitated even on the continent.

The Dutch exerciſed againſt the negroes in Guyana, cruelties unknown in the iſlands. The facility of deſertion in an immenſe territory, hath probably occaſioned this exceſs of barbarity. A ſlave is put to death by his maſter upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions, in preſence of all the other ſlaves, but with the precaution of keeping the white men out of ſight, becauſe they alone might give their teſtimony in a court of juſtice againſt this uſurpation of public authority.

Theſe cruelties have ſucceſſively driven to the foreſts a conſiderable multitude of theſe deplorable victims of an infamous avarice. A ſharp and bloody war hath been carried on againſt them without a poſſibility of deſtroying them. Their independence hath at length been neceſſarily acknowledged, and ſince theſe remarkable treaties they have formed ſeveral hamlets, where they cultivate in peace, upon the back ſettlements of the colony, the proviſions they are abſolutely in want of for their ſubſiſtence.

Other negroes have forſaken their manufactures. Theſe fugitives fall unexpectedly, ſometimes upon one ſide of the colony, ſometimes upon another, in order to carry off ſupplies for their own ſubſiſtence, and to lay waſte the wealth of their former tyrants. It is in vain that the troops are kept continually upon the watch, to check or to ſurpriſe ſo dangerous an enemy. By means of private information, they contrive to eſcape every ſnare, and direct their incurſions towards thoſe parts which happen to be left defenceleſs.

Methinks I ſee thoſe people who were ſlaves in Egypt, and who, taking refuge in the deſerts of Arabia, wandered for the ſpace of forty years, attempted to make incurſions upon all the neighbouring people, haraſſed them, penetrated alternately among ſome of them, and by ſlight and frequent inroads paved the way for the invaſion of Paleſtine. If nature ſhould chance to add a great ſoul, and a powerful un-

derſtanding, to the outward form of a negro; if ſome European ſhould aſpire to the glory of being the avenger of nations that have been oppreſſed during two centuries; if even a miſſionary ſhould know how to avail himſelf properly of the continual and progreſſive aſcendant of opinion over the variable and tranſient empire of ſtrength,—but alas! muſt the cruelty of our European policy inſpire ſanguinary ideas, and ſuggeſt plans of deſtruction to an equitable and humane man, whoſe thoughts are engaged in ſecuring the peace and happineſs of all mankind?

The republic will prevent the ſubverſion of their ſettlements, by laying a ſalutary reſtraint on the caprices and extravagances of their ſubjects. They will alſo take effectual meaſures to bring into their own ports the fruits of their labours, which hitherto have been two often thrown into another channel.

The principal proprietors of Dutch Guyana reſide in Europe. There are ſcarcely to be found in the colony any inhabitants, but the factors of theſe wealthy men, and ſuch proprietors, whoſe fortunes are too moderate to admit of their intruſting the care of their plantations to other hands. The conſumption of ſuch inhabitants muſt be extremely confined. Accordingly, the veſſels which are ſent from the mother-country to bring home their produce, carry out nothing but abſolute neceſſaries; very ſeldom any articles of luxury, and but few of them. Even this ſcanty ſupply the Dutch traders are forced to ſhare with the Engliſh of North America.

Thoſe foreigners were at firſt admitted only becauſe the colony was under a neceſſity of purchaſing horſes of them. The difficulty of breeding, and perhaps other cauſes, have eſtabliſhed this permiſſion. The bringing of horſes is ſo indiſpenſable a paſſport for the men, that a ſhip which does not carry a number proportionate to its ſize is not admitted into their harbours. But if the horſes happen to die in their paſſage, it is ſufficient that their heads are produced, to intitle the owners to expoſe to ſale all kinds of proviſions. There is a law forbidding payments to be made otherwiſe than by barter of molaſſes and rum; but this law is little attended to. The Engliſh, newly arrived, who have uſurped the right of importing thither whatever they chooſe, take care to export the moſt valuable commodities of the

colony, and even exact payments in money or bills of exchange on Europe. Such is the law of force, which republics apply, not only to other nations, but to each other. The Engliſh treat the Dutch nearly in the ſame manner as the Athenians did the people of Melos. "It has ever been "the caſe," ſaid they to the inhabitants of that iſland, "that the weakeſt ſhould ſubmit to the ſtrongeſt: this law "is not of our making; it is as old as the world, and will "ſubſiſt as long as the world endures."[2] This argument, which is ſo well calculated to ſuit the purpoſes of injuſtice, brought Athens in its turn under the dominion of Sparta, and at length deſtroyed it by the hands of the Romans.

*The loſſes of the Dutch muſt render them careful of their American poſſeſſions.*

The United provinces have not given to their American ſettlements that attention they deſerved, although they have met with ſtrokes ſo ſevere, and ſo cloſely following upon each other, as ought to have opened their eyes. If they had not been blinded by the rapidity of their ſucceſs, they would have diſcovered the beginning of their ruin in the loſs of Brazil. Deprived of that vaſt acquiſition, which in their hands might have become the firſt colony of the univerſe, and might have compenſated the weakneſs or inſufficiency of their territory in Europe, they ſaw themſelves reduced to the condition they were in before they had made this conqueſt, of being factors for other nations; and thus was created, in their maſs of real wealth, a void which hath never ſince been filled up.

The conſequences of the act of navigation, paſſed in England, were not leſs fatal to the Dutch. From this time that iſland, ceaſing to be a tributary to the trade of the republic, became her rival, and in a ſhort time acquired a deciſive ſuperiority over her in Africa, Aſia, and America.

Had other nations adopted the policy of Britain, Holland muſt have ſunk under the ſtroke. Happily for her, their kings knew not, or cared not for the proſperity of their people. Every government, however, in proportion as it has become more enlightened, has aſſumed to itſelf its own branches of commerce. Every ſtep that has been taken for this purpoſe, hath been an additional check upon the Dutch; and we may preſume, from the preſent ſtate

of things, that sooner or later every people will establish a navigation for themselves, suited to the nature of their country, and to the extent of their abilities. To this period the course of events in all nations seems to tend; and whenever it shall arrive, the Dutch, who are indebted for their success, as much to the indolence and ignorance of their neighbours, as to their own economy and experience, will find themselves reduced to their original state of poverty.

It is not certainly in the power of human prudence to prevent this revolution; but there was no necessity to anticipate it, as the republic has done, by choosing to interfere as a principal in the troubles which so frequently have agitated Europe. The interested policy of our times would have afforded a sufficient excuse for the wars she hath commenced or sustained for the sake of her trade. But upon what principle can she justify those in which her exorbitant ambition, or ill-founded apprehensions, have engaged her? She has been obliged to support herself by immense loans; if we sum up together all the debts separately contracted by the generalities, the provinces, and the towns, which are all equally public debts, we shall find they amount to two thousand millions of livres [85,333,333l. 6s. 8d.]; the interest of which, though reduced to two and a half per cent. hath amazingly increased the load of taxes.

Others will perhaps examine, whether these taxes have been laid on with judgment, and collected with due economy. It is sufficient here to remark, that they have had the effect of increasing so considerably the price of necessaries, and consequently that of labour, that the industrious part of the nation have suffered severely from them. The manufactures of wool, silk, gold, silver, and a variety of others, have sunk, after having struggled for a long time under the growing weight of taxes and scarcity. When the spring equinox brings on at the same time high tides and the melting of the snow, a country is laid under water by the overflowing of the rivers. No sooner does the increase of taxes raise the price of provisions, than the workman, who pays more for his daily consumption, without receiving any addition to his wages, forsakes the manufacture and workshop. Holland hath not preserved any of its internal resources of trade, but such as were not exposed to any foreign competition.

The huſbandry of the republic, if we may be allowed to call it by that name, that is to ſay, the herring fiſhery, hath ſcarce ſuffered leſs. This fiſhery, which for a long time was intitled the gold mine of the ſtate, on account of the number of perſons who derived their ſubſiſtence, and even grew rich from it, is not only reduced to one half, but the profits of it, as well as thoſe of the whale fiſhery, are dwindled by degrees to nothing. Nor is it by advances of ſpecie, that thoſe who ſupport theſe two fiſheries embark in the undertaking. The partnerſhips conſiſt of merchants, who furniſh the bottoms, the rigging, the utenſils, and the ſtores. Their profit conſiſts almoſt entirely in the vent of theſe ſeveral merchandizes: they are paid for them out of the produce of the fiſhery, which ſeldom yields more than is ſufficient to defray its expences. The impoſſibility there is in Holland of employing their numerous capitals to better advantage, has been the only cauſe of preſerving the remains of this ancient ſource of the public proſperity.

The exceſſive taxes, which have ruined the manufactures of the republic, and reduced the profits of their fiſheries ſo low, have greatly confined their navigation. The Dutch have the materials for building at the firſt hand. They ſeldom croſs the ſea without a cargo. They live with the ſtricteſt ſobriety. The lightneſs of their ſhips in working is a great ſaving in the numbers of their crews; and theſe crews are eaſily formed, and always kept in the greateſt perfection, and at a ſmall expence, from the multitude of ſailors ſwarming in a country which conſiſts of nothing elſe but ſea and ſhore. Notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, which are further increaſed by the low rate of money, they have been forced to ſhare the freight-trade of Europe with Sweden, Denmark, and eſpecially the Hamburgers, with whom the neceſſary requiſites for navigation are not encumbered with the ſame impoſitions.

With the freights have diminiſhed the commiſſions which uſed to be ſent to the United provinces. When Holland was become a great ſtaple, merchandize was ſent thither from all parts, as to the market where the ſale of it was moſt ready, ſure, and advantageous. Foreign merchants were the more ready oftentimes to ſend them thither, as they obtained, at an eaſy rate, credit to the amount of two thirds, or even three fourths, of the value of their goods.

This management insured to the Dutch the double advantage of employing their capitals without risk, and obtaining a commission besides. The profits of commerce were at that time so considerable, that they could easily bear these charges; they are now so greatly lessened, since experience has multiplied the number of adventurers, that the seller is obliged to convey his commodity himself to the consumer, without the intervention of any agent. But if upon certain occasions an agent must be employed, they will prefer, *cæteris paribus*, those ports where commodities pay no duty of import or export.

The republic hath likewise lost the trade of insurance, which she had in a manner monopolized formerly. It was in her ports that all the nations of Europe used to insure their freights, to the great profit of the insurers, who, by dividing and multiplying their risks, seldom failed of enriching themselves. In proportion as the spirit of inquiry introduced itself into all our ideas, whether of philosophy or economy, the utility of these speculations became universally known. The practice became familiar and general; and what other nations have gained by it, was of course lost to Holland.

From these observations it is evident, that all the branches of commerce the republic was in possession of, have been very greatly diminished. Perhaps the greater part of them would have been annihilated, if the quantity of her specie, and her extraordinary economy, had not enabled her to be satisfied with a profit of three per cent. which we look upon to be the value of the product upon all her trade. This great deficiency has been made up to them by vesting their money in the English, French, Austrian, Saxon, Danish, and even Russian, funds, the amount of which, upon the whole, is about sixteen hundred millions of livres [66,666,666l. 13s. 4d.]

Formerly the state made this branch of commerce unlawful, which is now become the most considerable of any. Had this law been observed, the sums they have lent to foreigners would have lain unemployed at home; their capitals for the use of trade being already so large, that the least addition to them, so far from giving an advantage, would become detrimental, by making the amount too great for use. The superfluity of money would immediately

have brought the United provinces to that period, in which excefs of wealth begets poverty. Millions of opulent perfons, in the midft of their treafures, would not have had a fufficiency to fupport themfelves.

The contrary practice hath been the principal refource of the republic. The money fhe has lent to neighbouring nations, has procured her an annual balance in her favour, by the revenue accruing from it. The credit is always the fame, and produces always the fame intereft.

We fhall not prefume to determine how long the Dutch will continue to enjoy fo comfortable a fituation. Experience authorizes us only to declare, that all governments which have, unfortunately for the people, adopted the deteftable fyftem of borrowing, will fooner or later be forced to give it up; and the abufe they have made of it will moft probably oblige them to defraud their creditors. Whenever the republic fhall be reduced to this ftate, her great refource will be in agriculture.

This, though it be capable of improvement in the county of Breda, Bois-le-Duc, Zutphen, and Guelders, can never become very confiderable. The territory belonging to the United provinces is fo fmall, that it will almoft juftify the opinion of a fultan, who feeing with what obftinacy the Dutch and Spaniards difputed with each other the poffeffion of it, declared, if it belonged to him, he would order his pioneers to throw it into the fea. The foil is good for nothing but fifh, which, before the Dutch, were the only inhabitants of it. It has been faid with as much truth as energy, that the four elements were but in embryo there.

The exiftence of the republic in Europe is precarious, from their pofition in the middle of a capricious and boifterous element which furrounds them, which perpetually threatens them, and againft which they are obliged to maintain means of defence as expenfive as a numerous army; from formidable neighbours, fome on the feas, and others on the continent; from the barrennefs of the foil, which produces nothing of what is abfolutely required for daily fubfiftence. Without any wealth of their own, their magazines, which are at prefent filled with foreign merchandize, may be to-morrow either empty or overftocked, whenever the nations fhall either chooſe to ceafe the furnifhing of them with any, or fhall no longer require any from them.

Expoſed to every kind of want, their inhabitants will be forced to leave their country, or to die with hunger upon their treaſures, if they cannot be relieved, or if ſuccours be refuſed to them. If it ſhould happen that the nations ſhould become enlightened with reſpect to their intereſts, and ſhould reſolve to carry their productions themſelves to the different regions of the earth, and to bring back upon their own ſhips thoſe which they ſhall receive from thence in exchange, what will become of theſe uſeleſs carriers? Deprived of original materials, the poſſeſſors of which are at liberty to prohibit the exportation of, or to fix them at, an exorbitant price, what will become of their manufactures? Whether the deſtiny of any power ſhould depend upon the wiſdom or upon the folly of others, that power is almoſt equally an object of compaſſion. Without the diſcovery of the New World, Holland would be nothing, England would be inconſiderable, Spain and Portugal would be powerful, and France would be what ſhe is, and what ſhe will ever remain, under whatever maſter, and under whatever form of government, ſhe may be placed. A long ſeries of calamities may plunge her into misfortunes, but thoſe misfortunes will be only temporary, ſince nature is perpetually employed in repairing her diſaſters. And this is the enormous difference there is between the condition of an indigent people and that of a people rich in their territory. The latter can exiſt without all other nations, while theſe can ſcarce exiſt without them. Their population muſt be inceſſantly increaſing, if a bad adminiſtration do not retard the progreſs of it. Several ſucceſſive years of general dearth will only bring on a tranſient inconvenience, if the wiſdom of the ſovereign ſhould provide againſt it. They ſcarce ſtand in need of any allies. If the combined policy of all the powers ſhould concur in refuſing to purchaſe their commodities, they would ſtill experience nothing more than the inconvenience of ſuperfluity, and the diminution of their luxury; an effect which would turn to the advantage of their ſtrength, which is enervated, and of their manners, which are corrupted. True riches they are in poſſeſſion of, and have no need to go in ſearch of them at a diſtance: ſo that the ſuperabundance or ſcarcity of the metal which repreſents their felicity, can be of no avail either for or againſt it.

Deprived of theſe advantages in Europe, the republic muſt ſeek them in America. Her colonies, though very inferior to the ſettlements formed there by moſt of the other nations, would furniſh productions, the whole profits and property of which will centre in her. By her territorial acquiſitions ſhe will be enabled in every market to rival thoſe nations, whoſe commodities ſhe formerly ſerved only to convey. Holland, raiſed to the dignity of a ſtate, will ceaſe to be a warehouſe. She will find in another hemiſphere that conſiſtence which Europe hath denied her. It remains to ſee, if Denmark can have the ſame wants and the ſame reſources.

*Revolutions which have changed the ſtate of Denmark.*

DENMARK and Norway, which are at preſent united under the ſame government, formed, in the eighth century, two different ſtates. While the former ſignalized itſelf by the conqueſt of England, and other bold enterpriſes, the latter peopled the Orcades, Fero, and Iceland. Urged by that reſtleſs ſpirit, which had always actuated their anceſtors the Scandinavians, this active nation, ſo early as the ninth century, formed an eſtabliſhment in Greenland, which country, there is good reaſon to ſuppoſe, is attached to the American continent. It is even thought, notwithſtanding the darkneſs which prevails over all the hiſtorical records of the north, that there are ſufficient traces to induce a belief, that their navigators in the eleventh century were hardy enough to penetrate as far as the coaſts of Labrador and Newfoundland, and that they left ſome ſmall colonies on them. Hence it is probable, that the Norwegians have a right to diſpute with Columbus the glory of having diſcovered the New World; at leaſt, if thoſe may be ſaid to have made the diſcovery, who were there without knowing it.

The wars which Norway had to ſuſtain, till the time it became united to Denmark; the difficulties which the government oppoſed to its navigation; the ſtate of oblivion and inaction into which this enterpriſing nation fell; not only loſt it its colonies in Greenland, but alſo whatever ſettlements or connections it might have had on the coaſts of America.

It was not till more than a century after the Genoese navigator had begun the conquest of that part of the world under the Spanish banner, that the Danes and Norwegians, who were then become one nation, cast their eyes upon that hemisphere, which was nearer to them than to any of those nations who had already possessed themselves of different parts of it. They chose, however, to make their way into it by the shortest course, and therefore, in 1619, they sent Captain Monk to find out a passage by the northwest into the Pacific ocean. His expedition was attended with as little success as those of many other navigators, both before and after him.

It may be presumed, that a disappointment in their first attempt would not entirely have disgusted the Danes; and that they would have continued their American expeditions till they had succeeded in forming some settlements, that might have rewarded them for their trouble. If they lost sight of those distant regions, it was because they were forced to it by an unfortunately obstinate war, which humbled and tormented them, and lasted till the year 1660.

The government seized the first moment of tranquillity to examine the condition of the state. Like all other Gothic governments, it was divided between an elective chief, the nobility or senate, and the commons. The king enjoyed no other pre-eminence than that of presiding in the senate, and commanding the army. In the intervals between the diets the government was in the hands of the senate: but all great affairs were referred to the diets themselves, which were composed of the clergy, nobility, and commonalty.

Though this constitution be formed upon the model of liberty, no country was less free than that of Denmark. The clergy had forfeited their influence from the time of the Reformation. The citizens had not yet acquired wealth sufficient to make them considerable. These two orders were overwhelmed by that of the nobility, which was still influenced by the spirit of the original feudal system, that reduces every thing to force. The critical situation of the affairs of Denmark did not inspire this body of men with that justice or moderation, which the circumstances of the time required. They refused to contribute their proportion to the public expences; and by this refusal exasperated

the members of the diet. But, instead of exterminating this proud race, which was desirous of enjoying the advantages of society, without partaking the burden of it, they resolved to submit to unlimited servitude, and voluntarily put on chains themselves, which the nobles would never have ventured to impose upon them by force, or with which they would perhaps have in vain attempted to load them.

At this strange and humiliating spectacle, is there any one who will not ask, what is man? What is that original and deep sense of dignity which he is supposed to possess? Is he born for independence or for slavery? What is that senseless herd of men which we call a nation? And when, on reviewing the globe, the same phenomenon, and the same meanness, are displayed in a greater or less degree from one pole to the other, is it possible that pity should not be extinguished, and that in the contempt which succeeds to it we should not be tempted to exclaim: base and stupid people, since the continuity of oppression doth not restore to you any energy; since you confine yourselves to unavailing groans, when you might make your oppressors tremble; since there are millions of you, and that yet you suffer yourselves to be led at pleasure by a few infants, armed with despicable weapons, continue still to obey. Go on without troubling us with your complaints; and learn at least how to be unhappy, if you know not how to be free.

The Danes had no sooner submitted to one single chief, than they fell into a kind of lethargic state. To those great convulsions, which are occasioned by the clashing of important rights, succeeded the delusive tranquillity of servitude. A nation, which had filled the scene for several ages, appeared no more on the theatre of the world. In 1671, it just recovered so far from the trance, into which the accession of despotism had thrown it, as to look abroad, and take possession of a little American island, known by the name of St. Thomas.

*The Danes form settlements in the islands of St. Thomas,*

This island, the farthest of the Caribbees towards the west, was totally uninhabited, when the Danes undertook to form a settlement upon it. They were

at firſt oppoſed by the Engliſh, under pretence that ſome emigrants of that nation had formerly begun to clear it. *St. John, and Santa Cruz.*

The Britiſh miniſtry ſtopped the progreſs of this interference; and the colony were left to form plantations of ſugar, ſuch as a ſandy ſoil, of no greater extent than five leagues in length, and two and a half in breadth, would admit of. Theſe improvements, which were at that time very rare in the American archipelago, were brought on by particular cauſes.

The elector of Brandenburg had formed, in 1681, a company for the weſtern part of Africa. The object of this aſſociation was to purchaſe ſlaves; but they were to be ſold again; and that could be done in no other place than in the New World. It was propoſed to the court of Verſailles to receive them in their poſſeſſions, or to cede Santa Cruz. Theſe two propoſals being equally rejected, Frederic William turned his views towards St. Thomas. Denmark conſented in 1685, that the ſubjects of this enterpriſing prince ſhould eſtabliſh a factory in the iſland, and that they ſhould carry on a free trade there, upon condition of paying the taxes eſtabliſhed, and of agreeing to give an annual ſtipend.

They were then in hopes of furniſhing the Spaniſh colonies, which were diſſatisfied with England and Holland, with the negroes which thoſe provinces were continually in want of. The treaty not having taken place, and the vexations being inceſſantly multiplied, even at St. Thomas, the tranſactions of the inhabitants of Brandenburg were always more or leſs unfortunate. Their contract, however, which had been only made at firſt for thirty years, was renewed. Some few of them ſtill belonged to it, even in 1731; but without any ſhares or any charter.

Nevertheleſs, it was neither to the productions, nor to the undertakings of the inhabitants, of Brandenburg, that the iſland of St. Thomas was indebted for its importance.

The ſea has hollowed out from its coaſt an excellent harbour, in which fifty ſhips may ride with ſecurity. This advantage attracted both the Engliſh and French buccaneers, who were deſirous of exempting their booty from the duties they were ſubject to pay in the ſettlements belonging to their own nations. Whenever they had taken their

prizes in the lower latitudes, from which they could not make the Windward iſlands, they put into that of St. Thomas to diſpoſe of them. It was alſo the aſylum of all merchant-ſhips which frequented it as a neutral port in time of war. It was the mart, where the neighbouring colonies bartered their reſpective commodities which they could not do elſewhere with ſo much eaſe and ſafety. It was the port from which were continually diſpatched veſſels richly laden to carry on a clandeſtine trade with the Spaniſh coaſts; in return for which, they brought back conſiderable quantities of metal and merchandize of great value. In a word, St. Thomas was a market of very great conſequence.

Denmark, however, reaped no advantage from this rapid circulation. The perſons who enriched themſelves were foreigners, who carried their wealth to other ſituations. The mother country had no other communication with its colony than by a ſingle ſhip, ſent out annually to Africa to purchaſe ſlaves, which being ſold in America, the ſhip returned home laden with the productions of that country. In 1719 their traffic increaſed by the clearing of the iſland of St. John, which is adjacent to St. Thomas, but not half ſo large. Theſe ſlender beginnings would have required the addition of Crab iſland, or Bourriquen, where it had been attempted to form a ſettlement two years before.

This iſland, which is from eight to ten leagues in circumference, has a conſiderable number of hills: but they are neither barren, ſteep, nor very high. The ſoil of the plains and valleys, which run between them, ſeems to be very fruitful; and is watered by a number of ſprings, the water of which is ſaid to be excellent. Nature, at the ſame time that ſhe has denied it a harbour, has made it amends by a multitude of the fineſt bays that can be conceived. At every ſtep ſome remains of plantations, rows of orange and lemon trees, are ſtill found; which make it evident, that the Spaniards of Porto-Rico, who are not further diſtant than five or ſix leagues, had formerly ſettled there.

The Engliſh, obſerving that ſo promiſing an iſland was without inhabitants, began to raiſe ſome plantations there towards the end of the laſt century; but they had not time to reap the fruit of their labour. They were ſurpriſed by

the Spaniards, who murdered all the men, and carried off the women and children to Porto-Rico. This accident did not deter the Danes from making ſome attempts to ſettle there in 1717. But the ſubjects of Great Britain, reclaiming their ancient rights, ſent thither ſome adventurers, who were at firſt plundered, and ſoon after driven off, by the Spaniards. The jealouſy of theſe American tyrants extends even to the prohibiting of fiſhing-boats to approach any ſhore where they have a right of poſſeſſion, though they do not exerciſe it. Too idle to proſecute cultivation, too ſuſpicious to admit induſtrious neighbours, they condemn the Crab iſland to eternal ſolitude; they will neither inhabit it themſelves, nor ſuffer any other nation to inhabit it. Such an exertion of excluſive ſovereignty has obliged Denmark to give up this iſland for that of Santa Cruz.

Santa Cruz had a better title to become an object of national ambition. It is eighteen leagues in length, and from three to four in breadth. In 1643 it was inhabited by Dutch and Engliſh. Their rivalſhip in trade ſoon made them enemies to each other. In 1646, after an obſtinate and bloody engagement, the Dutch were beat, and obliged to quit a ſpot from which they had formed great expectations. The conquerors were employed in ſecuring the conſequences of their victory, when, in 1650, they were attacked and driven out in their turn by twelve hundred Spaniards, who arrived there in five ſhips. The triumph of theſe laſted but a few months. The remains of that numerous body, which were left for the defence of the iſland, ſurrendered without reſiſtance to a hundred and ſixty French, who had embarked in 1651, from St. Chriſtophers, to make themſelves maſters of the iſland.

Theſe new inhabitants loſt no time in making themſelves acquainted with a country ſo much diſputed. On a ſoil, in other reſpects excellent, they found only one river of a moderate ſize, which, gliding gently almoſt on a level with the ſea through a flat country, furniſhed only a brackiſh water. Two or three ſprings, which they found in the innermoſt parts of the iſland, made but feeble amends for this defect. The wells were for the moſt part dry. The conſtruction of reſervoirs required time. Nor was the climate more inviting to the new inhabitants. The iſland

being flat, and covered with old trees, scarce afforded an opportunity for the winds to carry off the poisonous vapours, with which its morasses clogged the atmosphere. There was but one remedy for this inconvenience; which was to burn the woods. The French set fire to them without delay; and, getting on-board their ships, became spectators from the sea, for several months, of the conflagration they had raised in the island. As soon as the flames were extinguished, they went on-shore again.

They found the soil fertile beyond belief. Tobacco, cotton, arnotto, indigo, and sugar, flourished equally in it. So rapid was the progress of this colony, that, in eleven years from its commencement, there were upon it eight hundred and twenty-two white persons, with a proportionable number of slaves. It was rapidly advancing to prosperity, when such obstacles were thrown in the way of its activity as made it decline again. This decay was as sudden as its rise. In 1696 there were no more than one hundred and forty-seven men, with their wives and children, and six hundred and twenty-three blacks remaining; and these were transported from hence to St. Domingo.

Some obscure individuals, some writers unacquainted with the views of government, with their secret negociations, with the character of their ministers, with the interests of the protectors and the protected, who flatter themselves that they can discern the reason of events, amongst a multitude of important or frivolous causes, which may have equally occasioned them; who do not conceive, that among all these causes, the most natural may possibly be the farthest from the truth; who after having read the news, or journal of the day, with profound attention, decide as peremptorily as if they had been placed all their life-time at the helm of the state, and had assisted at the council of kings; who are never more deceived than in those circumstances, in which they display some share of penetration; writers as absurd in the praise as in the blame which they bestow upon nations, in the favourable or unfavourable opinion they form of ministerial operations: these idle dreamers, in a word, who think they are persons of importance, because their attention is always engaged on matters of consequence, being convinced that courts are always governed in their decisions by the most comprehensive views of profound policy, have supposed, that the

court of Verſailles had neglected Santa Cruz, merely becauſe they wiſhed to abandon the ſmall iſlands, in order to unite all their ſtrength, induſtry, and population, in the large ones; but this is a miſtaken notion: this determination, on the contrary, aroſe from the farmers of the revenue, who found, that the contraband trade of Santa Cruz with St. Thomas was detrimental to their intereſts. The ſpirit of finance hath in all times been injurious to commerce; it hath deſtroyed the ſource from whence it ſprang. Santa Cruz continued without inhabitants, and without cultivation, till 1733, when it was ſold by France to Denmark for 738,000 livres [30,750l.] Soon after the Danes built there the fortreſs of Chriſtianſtadt.

Then it was, that this northern power ſeemed likely to take deep root in America. Unfortunately, ſhe laid her plantations under the yoke of excluſive privileges. Induſtrious people of all ſects, particularly Moravians, ſtrove in vain to overcome this great difficulty. Many attempts were made to reconcile the intereſts of the coloniſts and their oppreſſors, but without ſucceſs. The two parties kept up a continual ſtruggle of animoſity, not of induſtry. At length the government, with a moderation not to be expected from its conſtitution, purchaſed, in 1754, the privileges and effects of the company. The price was fixed at 9,900,000 livres [412,500l.] part of which was paid in ready money, and the remainder in bills upon the treaſury, bearing intereſt. From this time the navigation to the iſlands was opened to all the ſubjects of the Daniſh dominions.

*Unfortunate ſtate of the Daniſh iſlands.*

On the firſt January 1773, there was reckoned in St. John fixty-nine plantations, twenty-ſeven of which were devoted to the culture of ſugar, and forty-two to other productions of leſs importance. There were exactly the ſame number at St. Thomas, and they had the ſame deſtination, but were much more conſiderable. Of three hundred and forty-five plantations, which were ſeen at Santa Cruz, one hundred and fifty were covered with ſugar-canes. In the two former iſlands, the plantations acquire what degree of extent it is in the power of the planter to give them, but in the laſt, every habitation is

limited to three thouſand Daniſh feet in length, and two thouſand in breadth.

St. John is inhabited by one hundred and ten white men, and by two thouſand three hundred and twenty-four ſlaves: St. Thomas, by three hundred and thirty-ſix white men, and by four thouſand two hundred and ninety-ſix ſlaves: Santa Cruz, by two thouſand one hundred and thirty-ſix white men, and by twenty-two thouſand two hundred and forty-four ſlaves. There are no freed men at St. Johns, and only fifty-two at St. Thomas, and one hundred and fifty-five at Santa Cruz; and yet the formalities required for granting liberty, are nothing more than a ſimple inrolment in a court of juſtice. If ſo great a facility hath not multiplied theſe acts of benevolence, it is becauſe they have been forbidden to thoſe who had contracted debts. It hath been apprehended, that the debtors might be tempted to be generous at the expence of their creditors.

This law appears to me a very prudent one; with ſome mitigation it might be of ſervice, even in our countries. I ſhould very much approve, that all citizens inveſted with honourable functions, either at court, in the army, in the church, or in the magiſtracy, ſhould be ſuſpended whenever they ſhould be legally ſued by a creditor, and that they ſhould be unremittingly deprived of their rank whenever they ſhould be declared inſolvent by the tribunals. It appears to me that money would then be lent with more confidence, and borrowed with greater circumſpection. Another advantage which would accrue from ſuch a regulation, would be, that the ſubaltern orders of men, who imitate the cuſtoms and the prejudices of the higher claſs of citizens, would ſoon be apprehenſive of incurring the ſame diſgrace; and that fidelity in engagements would become one of the characteriſtics of the national manners.

The annual productions of the Daniſh iſlands are reduced to a ſmall quantity of coffee, to a great deal of cotton, to ſeventeen or eighteen millions weight of raw ſugar, and to a proportionate quantity of rum. Part of theſe commodities are delivered to the Engliſh, who are proprietors of the beſt plantations, and in poſſeſſion of the ſlave trade. We have before us at preſent, very authentic accounts, which prove that from 1756 to 1773, that nation hath ſold in the Daniſh ſettlements in the New World, to the amount

of 2,307,686 livres 11 ſols [96,153l. 12s. 1½d.] and carried off to the value of 3,197,047 livres 5 ſols 6 deniers [133,210l. 6s. 0½d.] North America receives likewiſe ſome of theſe productions in exchange for its cattle, for its wood, and for its flour. The remainder is conveyed to the mother country upon forty ſhips of one hundred, and from that to four hundred tons burthen. The greateſt part is conſumed in Denmark, and there is ſcarcely ſold in Germany, or in the Baltic, for more than the value of one million of livres [41,666l. 13s. 4d.]

The lands ſuſceptible of cultivation in the Daniſh iſlands are not all tilled, and thoſe which are, might be improved. According to the opinion of the beſt-informed men, the produce of theſe poſſeſſions might eaſily be increaſed by one third, or perhaps by one half.

One great obſtacle to this increaſe of riches, is the extremely narrow circumſtances of the coloniſts. They owe 4,500,000 livres [187,500l.] to government, 1,200,000 livres [50,000l.] to the trade of the mother country, and 26,630,170 livres [1,109,590l. 8s. 4d.] to the Dutch, who, from the immenſity of their capitals, and the impoſſibility of employing them all themſelves, neceſſarily become the creditors of all nations.

The avidity of the treaſury puts freſh reſtraints upon induſtry. The proviſions and merchandize which are not peculiar to the country, or which have not been brought upon Daniſh veſſels, are obliged to pay four per cent. upon their departure from Europe. The national and foreign commodities equally pay ſix per cent. on their arrival in the iſlands; 18 livres [15s.] are required for every freſh negro brought in, and a poll-tax of 4 livres 10 ſols [3s. 9d.] Some heavy duties are laid upon ſtamp paper; an impoſt of 9 livres [7s. 6d.] for each thouſand foot ſquare of ground, and the tenth of the price of every habitation that is ſold. The productions are all ſubjected to five per cent. duty on their leaving the colonies, and to three per cent. on their arrival in any of the ports of the mother country, excluſive of the duties which are paid for rum when conſumed in retail. Theſe tributes collectively bring in to the crown an income of eight or nine hundred thouſand livres, [from 33,333l. 6s. 8d. to 37,500l.]

It is time that the court of Copenhagen ſhould give up theſe numerous and oppreſſive taxes. Well-grounded mc-

tives of interest ought certainly to suggest the same kind of conduct to all the powers that have possessions in the New World. But Denmark is more particularly compelled to this act of generosity. The planters are loaded with such enormous debts, that they will never be able to repay the capitals, and cannot even make good the arrears, unless the treasury should entirely drop every kind of claim upon them.

But can such a prudent measure be expected, either in Denmark or elsewhere, as long as the public expences shall exceed the public revenues; as long as the fatal events, which, in the present order, or rather disorder, of things, are perpetually renewed, shall compel administration to double or to treble the burthen of their unfortunate, and already overloaded subjects; as long as the councils of the sovereigns shall act without any certain views, and without any settled plan; as long as ministers shall conduct themselves, as if the empire, or their functions, were to end the next day; as long as the national treasures shall be exhausted by unparalleled depredations, and that its indigence shall only be removed by extravagant speculations, the ruinous consequences of which will not be perceived, or will be neglected, for the trifling advantages of the moment? and to make use of an energetic, but true metaphor, one that is terrifying, but symbolical of what is practised in all countries; as long as the folly, the avarice, the dissipation, the degradation, or the tyranny, of the rulers, shall have rendered the treasury so much exhausted or rapacious, as to induce them to "burn the harvest, in order the more "speedily to collect the price of the ashes!"

If the treasury were by chance to become wiser and more generous in Denmark than they have been, or than they are, in any other part of the globe, the islands of St. Thomas, of St. John, and of Santa Cruz, might possibly prosper, and their productions might, in some measure, compensate for the trifling value of those of the mother-country.

*Rapid sketch of the Danish power.*

The provinces which at present constitute the domains of this state in Europe, were formerly independent of each other. Revolutions, most of them of a

ſingular nature, have united them into one kingdom. In the centre of this heterogeneous compoſition are ſome iſlands, the principal of which is called Zealand. It has an excellent port, though in the eleventh century it was but a little fiſhing town; it became a place of importance in the thirteenth; in the fifteenth, the capital of the kingdom; and, ſince the fire in 1728, which conſumed ſixteen hundred and fifty houſes, it is a handſome city. To the ſouth of theſe iſlands is that long and narrow peninſula, which the ancients called the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus. Jutland, Sleſwick, and Holſtein, the moſt important and extenſive parts of this peninſula, have been ſucceſſively added to the Daniſh dominions. They have been more or leſs flouriſhing, in proportion as they have felt the effects of the reſtleſſneſs of the ocean, which ſometimes retires from their coaſts and ſometimes overwhelms them. In theſe countries, one may ſee a perpetual ſtruggle between the inhabitants and the ſea, an inceſſant conteſt, the ſucceſs of which hath always been equivocal. The inhabitants of ſuch a country will be free from the moment they feel that they are not ſo. Mariners, iſlanders, and mountaineers, will not long remain under the yoke of deſpotiſm.

Nor is Norway, which conſtitutes part of the Daniſh dominions, more adapted to ſervitude. It is covered with ſtones or rocks, and interſected by chains of high and barren mountains. Lapland contains only a few wild people, either ſettled upon the ſea-coaſts, for the ſake of fiſhing, or wandering through frightful deſerts, and ſubſiſting by the chaſe, by their furs, and their rein-deer. Iceland is a miſerable country, which has been many times overturned by volcanoes and earthquakes, and conceals within its bowels a quantity of combuſtible matter, which in an inſtant may reduce it to a heap of ruins. With reſpect to Greenland, which the common people look upon as an iſland, and which geographers conſider as united towards the weſt to the American continent; it is a vaſt and barren country, condemned by nature to be eternally covered with ſnow. If ever theſe countries ſhould become populous, they would be independent of each other, and of the king of Denmark, who thinks at preſent that he rules over their wild inhabitants, becauſe he calls himſelf their king, while they know nothing of the matter.

The climate of the Daniſh iſlands in Europe is not ſo ſevere as might be conjectured from the latitude they lie in. If the navigation of the gulfs which ſurround them be ſometimes interrupted, it is not ſo much by ice formed there, as by what is driven thither by the winds, and by degrees collects into a maſs. All the provinces which make part of the German continent, except Jutland, partake of the German temperature. The cold is very moderate even on the coaſts of Norway. It rains there often during the winter, and the port of Bergen is ſcarcely once cloſed by ice, while thoſe of Amſterdam, Lubec, and Hamburgh, are ſhut up ten times in the courſe of the year. It is true, that this advantage is dearly purchaſed by thick and perpetual fogs, which make Denmark a diſagreeable and melancholy reſidence, and its inhabitants gloomy and low-ſpirited.

The population of this empire is not proportioned to its extent. In the earlier ages it was ruined by continual emigrations. The piratical enterpriſes which ſucceeded to theſe, kept up this ſtate of poverty, and anarchy prevented the government from remedying evils of ſuch magnitude and importance. The double tyranny of the prince over one order of his ſubjects, who fancy themſelves to be free, under the title of nobles, and of the nobility over a people entirely deprived of liberty, extinguiſhes even the hopes of an increaſe of population. The bills of mortality of all the ſtates of Denmark, excepting Iceland, taken together, make the deaths in 1771 amount only to 55,125; ſo that, upon the calculation of thirty-two living to one dead perſon, the whole number of inhabitants does not amount to more than 1,764,000.

Independent of many other cauſes, the weight of impoſts is a great obſtacle to their proſperity. There are fixed taxes payable on land, arbitrary ones collected by way of capitation, and daily ones levied on conſumption. This oppreſſion is the more unjuſt, as the crown poſſeſſes a very conſiderable domain, and hath likewiſe a certain reſource in the ſtraits of the Sound. Six thouſand nine hundred and thirty ſhips, which, if we may judge from the accounts of the year 1768, annually paſs into, or out of, the Baltic, pay at the entrance of that ſea about one per cent. upon all the commodities they are laden with. This ſpecies of tribute,

which, though difficult to collect, brings in to the ſtate two millions five hundred thouſand livres [104,166l. 13s. 4d.] is received in the bay of Elſinure, under the guns of the caſtle of Chronenburg. It is aſtoniſhing that the ſituation of this bay, and that of Copenhagen, ſhould not have ſuggeſted the idea of forming a ſtaple here, where all the commercial nations of the north and ſouth might meet, and exchange the produce of their climates and their induſtry.

With the funds ariſing from tributes, domains, cuſtoms, and foreign ſubſidies, this ſtate maintains an army of twenty-five thouſand men, which is compoſed of foreigners, and is reckoned the very worſt body of troops in Europe. On the other hand, its fleet is in the higheſt reputation. It conſiſts of twenty-ſeven ſhips of the line, and of one-and-thirty ſhips of war, but of inferior rates. Twenty-four thouſand regiſtered ſeamen, moſt of whom are continually employed, form a certain reſource for their navy. To their military expences, the government have of late years added others, for the encouragement of manufactures and arts. If we add to theſe, four millions of livres [166,666l. 13s. 4d.] for the neceſſary expences and amuſements of the court, and about the ſame ſum for the intereſt of the national debt, amounting to ſeventy millions [2,916,666l. 13s. 4d.] we ſhall account for the diſtribution of twenty-three millions of livres [958,333l. 6s. 8d.] which form the revenue of the crown.

It was with a view of ſecuring theſe ſeveral branches, that the government, in 1736, prohibited the uſe of jewels, and gold and ſilver ſtuffs: we may venture to ſay, there were plainer and eaſier means to be uſed for that purpoſe. They ſhould have aboliſhed that multitude of difficulties, which clog the commercial intercourſe of the citizens, and hinder a free communication between the different parts of the kingdom. The trade of Iceland, of Greenland, of the ſtates of Barbary, and the whale-fiſhery, ſhould have been laid open to all the traders of the nation. The trade of the iſlands of Fero, abſurdly given up to the ſovereign, ſhould have been reſtored to the people. All the members of the ſtate ſhould have been freed from the obligation that was impoſed upon them in 1726, of providing themſelves

with wine, ſalt, brandy, and tobacco, from Copenhagen itſelf.

In the preſent ſtate of affairs, their exportations are but ſmall. In the provinces on the German continent, they conſiſt of five or ſix thouſand beeves, three or four thouſand horſes fit for cavalry, and ſome rye, which is ſold to the Swedes and Dutch. For ſome years paſt, Denmark hath conſumed all the wheat which Fionia and Aland uſed to export to other nations. Thoſe two iſlands, as well as Zealand, have now no other traffic but in thoſe magnificent harneſſes which are purchaſed at ſo dear a rate by all who love fine horſes. The trade of Norway conſiſts of herrings, timber, maſts, tar, and iron. Lapland and Greenland produce furs. From Iceland is procured cod, whale blubber, the oil of ſeals, and manatees, ſulphur, and that luxurious down ſo celebrated under the name of eider-down.

We ſhall cloſe here the details into which the commerce of Denmark hath neceſſarily led us; and which are ſufficient to convince that power, that nothing contributes ſo much to her intereſt as having the ſole poſſeſſion and traffic of all the productions of her American iſlands. Let us warn her, that the more limited her poſſeſſions are in the New World, the more attentive ought ſhe to be, not to ſuffer any of the advantages ſhe may derive from them to eſcape her: let us warn her, as well as all the governments of the earth, that the diſeaſes of empires are not among the number of thoſe which are cured of themſelves; that they grow more inveterate with age, and that it is ſeldom their cure is facilitated by fortunate circumſtances; that it is almoſt always dangerous to put off, to a diſtant period, either the accompliſhing of any good purpoſe we may have in view, or the removal of any evil we may expect to remedy at the time: that for one inſtance of ſucceſs obtained by temporiſing, hiſtory affords a thouſand, where the favourable opportunity hath been miſſed for having been too long waited for; that the ſtruggles of a ſovereign are always thoſe of a ſingle man againſt all, unleſs there be ſeveral ſovereigns, who have one common intereſt between them; that alliances are nothing more than preparations for treachery; that the power of a feeble nation grows only by imperceptible degrees, and by efforts which are al-

ways thwarted by the jealousy of other nations, unless it should emerge at once from its state of mediocrity by the daring exertions of some impatient and formidable genius; that a man of such genius may be waited for a long time, and that even he risks every thing, since his attempts may terminate equally in the aggrandizement of the state or in its total ruin. Let us warn Denmark in particular, that while she is expecting the appearance of this man of genius, the safest thing for her is to be sensible of her position, and the wisest, is to be convinced, that if powers of the first class seldom commit faults without impunity, the least negligence on the part of subaltern sovereignties, which have not any speedy or great resource in the possession of immense and opulent territories, cannot but be attended with fatal consequences. Let us not conceal from her, that all petty states are destined to aggrandize themselves or to disappear, and that the bird which dwells in a barren climate, and lives amidst arid rocks, ought to act as a bird of prey.

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## BOOK XIII.

### SETTLEMENT OF THE FRENCH IN THE AMERICAN ISLANDS.

*General considerations upon the establishment of colonies.*

HISTORY entertains us with nothing but the accounts of conquerors, who have employed themselves at the expence of the lives and the happiness of their subjects in extending their dominions; but it doth not set before our eyes the example of one sovereign who hath thought of restraining the limits of them. Would not this measure, however, have been as prudent as the other has been fatal, and may we not judge of the extent of empires in the same manner as we do of the increase of population? A vast empire, and an immense population, may be two great evils. Let there

be few men, but let them be happy; let the empire be ſmall, but well governed. The fate of ſmall ſtates is to be extended, and of large ones to be diſmembered.

The increaſe of power, which moſt of the governments of Europe have flattered themſelves with, from their poſſeſſions in the New World, hath for too long a time engaged my attention, not to have induced me frequently to conſider within myſelf, or to inquire of men more enlightened, what idea it was proper to entertain of ſettlements formed at ſo much expence, and with ſo much labour, in another hemiſphere.

Doth our real happineſs require the enjoyment of the things which we go in ſearch of at ſuch a diſtance? Is it our fate for ever to perſevere in ſuch factitious inclinations? Is man born eternally to wander between the ſky and the waters? Is he a bird of paſſage, or doth he reſemble other animals, whoſe moſt diſtant excurſions are exceedingly limited? Can the articles of commerce we derive from thence be an adequate compenſation for the loſs of the citizens who leave their country, to periſh, either by the diſorders with which they are attacked during their voyage, or by the climate at their arrival? At ſuch conſiderable diſtance, what influence can the laws of the mother country have upon the ſubjects? and how will their obedience to thoſe laws be enforced? Will not the abſence of the witneſſes and judges of our actions neceſſarily induce corruption in our manners, and occaſion in time the ſubverſion of the moſt wiſe inſtitutions, when virtue and juſtice, which are the baſis on which they are founded, ſhall no longer ſubſiſt? By what firm tie ſhall we ſecure a poſſeſſion, from which we are ſeparated by an immenſe interval? Hath the individual, who paſſes his whole life in voyages, any idea of the ſpirit of patriotiſm? and among all the countries he is obliged to traverſe, is there any one which he ſtill conſiders as his own? Can colonies intereſt themſelves to a certain degree in the misfortunes or proſperity of the mother country? and can the mother country be very ſincerely rejoiced or afflicted at the fate of the colonies? Do not the people feel a ſtrong propenſity, either of governing themſelves, or of giving themſelves up to the firſt power which hath ſtrength enough to get poſſeſſion of them? Are not the directors, ſent over to govern them, conſidered as ty-

rants, who would be deſtroyed, were it not for the reſpect borne to the perſon whom they repreſent? Is not this extenſion of empire contrary to nature? and muſt not every thing that is contrary to nature have an end?

Would the man be conſidered as bereft of underſtanding, who ſhould ſay to the nations: Your authority muſt either ceaſe on the other continent, or you muſt make it the centre of your empire? This is the alternative you have to chooſe: you muſt either remain in this part of the world, and increaſe the proſperity of the land on which you are placed, and upon which you dwell; or if the other hemiſphere ſhould offer you more power, ſtrength, ſecurity, or happineſs, you muſt go and ſettle upon it. Convey to it your authority, and your arms, your manners and your laws will proſper there. Do ye think that your commands will be obeyed upon a ſpot where you do not reſide, when the abſence even of the maſter is always attended with ſome diſagreeable circumſtance in the narrow limits of his own family? The ſway of a monarch can only be eſtabliſhed in the kingdom where he dwells; and it is ſtill no eaſy matter to reign there with propriety. Wherefore, O ſovereign! haſt thou aſſembled numerous armies in the centre of thy kingdom? Wherefore are thy palaces ſurrounded with guards? It is becauſe the perpetual threats of thy neighbours, the ſubmiſſion of thy people, and the ſecurity of thy ſacred perſon, require theſe precautions. Who will be reſponſible for the fidelity of your diſtant ſubjects? Your ſceptre cannot reach to thouſands of leagues, and your ſhips can but imperfectly ſupply this authority. This is the decree pronounced by fate upon your colonies: you muſt either renounce them, or they will renounce you. Conſider, that your power ceaſes of itſelf, beyond the natural limits of your own dominions.

Theſe ideas, which begin to ariſe in the minds of men, would have excited them to revolt at the commencement of the ſeventeenth century. Every thing was then in commotion in moſt of the countries of Europe. The thoughts of all men were generally turned towards the concerns of the New World, and the French appeared as impatient as other nations to take a ſhare in them.

*First expeditions of the French to the American islands.*

EVER since the fatal catastrophe of the assassination of the best of their kings, that nation had been in perpetual confusion, from the caprices of an intriguing queen, the oppressions of a rapacious foreigner, and the schemes of a weak-minded favourite. A despotic minister began to enslave her; when some of her sailors, excited as much by a desire of independence, as by the allurement of riches, sailed towards the Caribbee islands, in hopes of making themselves masters of the Spanish vessels that frequented those seas. Their courage had been successful on many occasions; but they were at last obliged, in order to refit, to seek for an asylum, which they found at St. Christophers in 1625. This island appeared to them a proper place for securing the success of their expeditions, and they were therefore desirous of procuring a settlement upon it. Desnambuc, their chief, not only obtained leave to form an establishment there, but likewise to extend it as far as he was either desirous or was able to do, in the great archipelago of America. Government required, for this permission merely, without giving any assistance to the project, or encouraging it with any protection, the tenth part of the produce of every colony that might be founded.

*The French islands are oppressed under exclusive privileges.*

A COMPANY was formed in 1626, in order to reap the benefit of this concession. Such was the custom of those times, when trade and navigation were yet in too weak a state to be intrusted to private hands. This company obtained the greatest privileges. The government gave them, for twenty years, the property of all the islands they should cultivate, and empowered them to exact a hundred weight of tobacco, or fifty pounds of cotton, of every inhabitant from sixteen to sixty years of age. They were likewise to enjoy an exclusive right of buying and selling. A capital of forty-five thousand livres [1,875l.] only, and which was never increased to three times that sum, procured them all these advantages.

It seemed impossible to rise to any degree of prosperity with such inadequate means. Considerable numbers, however, of bold and enterprising men came from St. Christo-

phers, who hoisted the French flag in the neighbouring islands. Had the company, which excited this spirit of invasion by a few privileges, acted upon a consistent and rational plan, the state must soon have reaped some benefit from this restless dispositon. But, unfortunately, an inordinate thirst of gain rendered them unjust and cruel; a consequence that ever has and ever will attend a spirit of monopoly.

The Dutch, apprised of this tyranny, came and offered provisions and merchandize on far more moderate terms, and made proposals which were readily accepted. This laid the foundation of a connection between those republicans and the colonists, that could never afterwards be broken; and formed a competition, not only fatal to the company in the New World, where it prevented the sale of their cargoes, but even pursued them in all the markets of Europe, where the contraband traders undersold all the produce of the French islands. Discouraged by these deserved disappointments, the company sunk into a total state of inactivity, which deprived them of most of their emoluments, without lessening any of their expences. In their despair, they gave up, in 1631, their charter to a new company, who in their turn ceded it also to another, in 1642. In vain did the ministry sacrifice to the last company the duties they had reserved to themselves; this indulgence could not change the pernicious system which had been hitherto the perpetual cause of all the calamities. A new revolution therefore soon became necessary. The exhausted company, to prevent their total ruin, and that they might not sink under the weight of their engagements, put their possessions up to auction: they were mostly bought up by their respective governors.

In 1649, Boisseret purchased, for seventy-three thousand livres [3,041l. 13s. 4d.] Guadaloupe, Marigalante, the island called *The Saints*, and all the effects belonging to the company on these several islands: he afterwards parted with half in favour of Houel, his brother-in-law. In 1650, Duparquet paid but sixty thousand livres [2,500l.] for Martinico, St. Lucia, Granada, and the Granadines. Seven years after, he sold Granada and the Granadines to Count Cerillac, for one third more than he had given for his whole

purchaſe. In 1651, Malta purchaſed St. Chriſtophers, St. Martin, St. Bartholomew, Santa Cruz, and Tortuga, for forty thouſand crowns [5,000l.] which were paid by the commandant De Poincy, who governed thoſe iſlands. The knights of Malta were to hold them in fief of the crown, and were not allowed to intruſt any but a Frenchman with the adminiſtration of them.

The new poſſeſſors enjoyed an unlimited authority, and diſpoſed of the lands. All places, both civil and military, were in their gift. They had the right of pardoning thoſe whom their deputies condemned to death; in a word, they were ſo many petty ſovereigns. It was natural to expect, as their domains were under their own inſpection, that agriculture would make a rapid progreſs. This conjecture was in ſome meaſure realized, notwithſtanding the conteſts, which were neceſſarily ſharp and frequent under ſuch maſters. However, this ſecond ſtate of the French colonies did not prove more beneficial to the nation than the firſt. The Dutch continued to furniſh them with proviſions, and to carry away the produce, which they ſold indiſcriminately to all nations, even to that which ought to have reaped the ſole advantage of it, becauſe it was her own property.

The mother country ſuffered conſiderably from this evil, and Colbert miſtook the means of redreſs. That great man, who had for ſome time preſided over the finances and trade of the kingdom, had begun upon a wrong plan. The habit of living with the farmers of the revenue under the adminiſtration of Mazarin, had accuſtomed him to conſider money, which is but an inſtrument of circulation, as the ſource of every thing. He imagined that manufactures were the readieſt way to draw it from abroad; and that in the workſhops were to be found the beſt reſources of the ſtate, and in the tradeſmen the moſt uſeful ſubjects of the monarchy. To increaſe the number of theſe men, he thought it proper to keep the neceſſaries of life at a low price, and to diſcourage the exportation of corn. The production of materials was the leaſt object of his care, and he bent his whole attention to the manufacturing of them. This preference of induſtry to agriculture became the reigning taſte, and unfortunately this deſtructive ſyſtem ſtill prevails.

Had Colbert entertained juſt notions of the improvement of lands, of the encouragement it requires, and of the liberty the huſbandman muſt enjoy, he would have purſued, in 1664, a very different plan from that which he adopted. It is well known that he redeemed Guadaloupe, and its dependent iſlands, for one hundred and twenty-five thouſand livres [5,208l. 6s. 8d.]; Martinico for forty thouſand crowns [5,000l.]; Granada for a hundred thouſand livres [4,166l. 13s. 4d.]; and all the poſſeſſions of Malta for five hundred thouſand livres [20,833l. 6s. 8d.] So far his conduct deſerved commendation: it was fit that he ſhould reſtore ſo many branches of ſovereignty to the body of the ſtate. But he ought never to have ſubmitted poſſeſſions of ſuch importance to the oppreſſions of an excluſive company; a meaſure forbidden as much by paſt experience, as by reaſon. It is probable, that the miniſtry expected that a company, which was to be incorporated into thoſe of Africa, Cayenne, and North America, and intereſted in the trade that was beginning to be carried on upon the coaſts of St. Domingo, would obtain a ſtrong and permanent power, as well from the great connections it would have an opportunity of forming, as from the facility with which it might repair, in one part, the misfortunes it had ſuſtained in another. They thought to ſecure the future ſplendour of the company, by lending them the tenth part of the amount of their capital, free from intereſt for four years, by permitting the exportation of all proviſions, duty free, into their ſettlements, and by prohibiting, as much as they could, the competition of the Dutch.

Notwithſtanding all theſe favours, the company was never in any flouriſhing ſtate. The errors they fell into ſeemed to increaſe, in proportion to the number of conceſſions that had been injudiciouſly granted to them. The knavery of their agents, the dejection of the coloniſts, the deva\ſtations of war, with other cauſes, concurred to throw their affairs into the utmoſt confuſion. Their ruin was advancing, and appeared inevitable in 1674, when the ſtate judged it proper to pay off their debts, which amounted to three millions five hundred and twenty-three thouſand livres [146,791l. 13s. 4d.] and to reimburſe them their capital of one million two hundred eighty-ſeven thouſand one hundred and eighty-five livres [53,632l. 14s. 2d.] Theſe generous terms reſtored

to the body of the ſtate thoſe valuable poſſeſſions which had been hitherto, as it were, alienated from it. The colonies became entirely French, and all the citizens, without diſtinction, were at liberty to go and ſettle there, or to open a communication with them.

*The French iſlands recover their liberty. Obſtacles which prevent their ſucceſs.*

It would be difficult to expreſs the tranſports of joy which this event excited in the iſlands. They were now freed from the chains under which they had ſo long been oppreſſed; and nothing ſeemed capable of abating, for the future, the active ſpirit of labour and induſtry. Every individual gave a full ſcope to his ambition, and thought himſelf at the eve of making an immenſe fortune. If they were deceived in theſe expectations, this cannot be attributed either to their preſumption or their indolence. Their hopes were very natural, and their whole conduct was ſuch as juſtified and confirmed them. Unfortunately, the prejudices of the mother country threw inſurmountable difficulties in their way.

Firſt, it was required, even in the iſlands, that every free man, and every ſlave of either ſex, ſhould pay an annual poll-tax of a hundred weight of raw ſugar. It was in vain urged, that the condition impoſed upon the colonies, to trade only with the mother country, was of itſelf a ſufficient hardſhip, and a reaſon why they ſhould be exempted from all other taxes. Theſe repreſentations were not attended to, as they ought to have been. Whether from neceſſity, or from ignorance on the part of government, thoſe cultivators who ought to have been aſſiſted with loans without intereſt, or, with gratuities, ſaw part of their harveſt collected by greedy farmers of the revenue; which, had it been returned into their own fertile fields, would gradually have increaſed their produce.

While the iſlands were thus deprived of part of their produce, the ſpirit of monopoly was taking effectual meaſures in France to reduce the price of what was left them. The privilege of buying it up, was limited to a few ſea-ports. This was a manifeſt infringement of the eſſential rights veſted in the other harbours of the kingdom; but to the colonies it proved a very unfortunate reſtriction,

becauſe it leſſened the number of buyers and ſellers on the coaſts.

To this diſadvantage another ſoon ſucceeded. The miniſtry had endeavoured to exclude all foreign veſſels from thoſe diſtant poſſeſſions, and had ſucceeded, becauſe they were in earneſt. Theſe navigators obtained, from motives of intereſt, the privilege that was denied them by the laws. They purchaſed of the French merchants paſſes to go to the colonies, where they took in their ladings, and carried them directly to their own country. This diſhoneſty might have been puniſhed and ſuppreſſed by a variety of methods; but the moſt deſtructive one was adopted. All ſhips were required to give in their return, not only at home but likewiſe at the ports from whence they had ſailed. This reſtraint neceſſarily occaſioned a conſiderable expence to no purpoſe, and could not fail of enhancing the price of American commodities.

Their increaſe was alſo checked by the duties with which they were overladen; tobacco was ſubjected to a duty of twenty ſols [10d.] per pound. The uſe of indigo was at firſt prohibited in the dyes of the kingdom, under a pretence that it ſpoiled them, and that it would be prejudicial to one of the cultures of the mother country. But when the moſt obſtinate perſons had been convinced by repeated experiments, that indigo, when mixed with paſtel, or even when uſed alone, rendered the colours more beautiful and more laſting, government confined itſelf to the loading of it with taxes. They were ſo heavy as to render the exportation of it impoſſible. It was not till 1693, that the tax was taken off the indigo which was intended for foreigners.

The cacao was taken out of the hands of monopoly, only to be ſubjected, in 1693, to a duty of 15 ſols [7½d.] per pound, although it was ſold for no more than 5 ſols [2½d.] in the colonies. Its introduction in the kingdom was at firſt allowed only by Rouen and Marſeilles, and by this latter port alone, ſince the pretended liberty granted to it.

Cotton, which had at firſt eſcaped the rigours of the treaſury, was taxed 3 livres [2s. 6d.] per hundred-weight in 1664. It was to no purpoſe that half of this impoſt

was taken off in 1691. This modification could not renew the plants that had been extirpated.

The conſumption of ginger, which hath ſome of the qualities of pepper, and which might eaſily be uſed as a ſuccedaneum, ought to have been encouraged. A ſtop was put to it by a duty of 6 livres [5s.] per quintal. It was afterwards reduced to 15 ſols [7½d.]; but at that period, the loweſt claſs of citizens had contracted a diſlike for that ſpice, which it was impoſſible to conquer.

The American caſſia was purchaſed in France for one quarter of the price that was paid for that of the Levant. If a proper analyſis had been made of it, it would have diſpelled the prejudices which were the cauſe of this enormous difference in the price. But government never thought of any expedient which might tend to increaſe the riches of their poſſeſſions.

Sugar was the richeſt production of the iſlands till 1669: the direct exportation of it into all the ports of Europe had been allowed, as well as that of all the proviſions of the colonies. At this period it was ordered, that it ſhould be only depoſited in the harbours of the kingdom. This arrangement neceſſarily enhanced its price, and foreigners, who could purchaſe it at a cheaper rate in other parts, contracted the habit of going there in ſearch of it. The reſolution, however, that was taken of liberating the ſugar from the duty of 5 per cent. which it had paid on its arrival, was the means of preſerving ſome purchaſers. A freſh miſtake completed the ruin of this branch of trade.

The refiners, in 1682, petitioned that the exportation of raw ſugar might be prohibited; in which they ſeemed to be influenced merely by public good. They alleged that it was repugnant to all ſound principles, that the original produce ſhould be ſent away to ſupport foreign manufactures, and that the ſtate ſhould voluntarily deprive itſelf of the profits of ſo valuable a labour. This plauſible reaſoning made too great an impreſſion on Colbert; and the conſequence of it was, that the refining of ſugar was kept up at the ſame exorbitant price, and the art itſelf never received any improvement. This was not approved by the people who conſumed this article; the French ſugar-

trade ſank, and that of the rival nations was viſibly increaſed.

Some of the coloniſts, obſerving that the ſyſtem was not dropped, notwithſtanding this fatal experiment, ſolicited leave to fine their own ſugars. They were ſupplied with ſo many conveniencies to go through this proceſs at a trifling expence, that they flattered themſelves they might ſoon recover that preference they had loſt in the foreign markets. This change was more than probable, had not every hundred-weight of refined ſugar they ſent home been clogged with a duty of eight livres [6s. 8d.] on entering the kingdom. All that could be done, notwithſtanding this heavy impoſition, was to ſupport the competition of the French refiners reſiding in the kingdom. The produce of the ſugar-houſes in France, and of thoſe in the colonies, were entirely conſumed within the empire; and thus an important branch of trade was given up, rather than it ſhould be acknowledged, that a miſtake had been committed in prohibiting the exportation of raw ſugars.

From this period the colonies, which ſupplied twenty-ſeven millions weight of ſugar, could not diſpoſe of the whole of it in the mother country, which conſumed but twenty millions. As the conſumption of it decreaſed, no more was cultivated than was abſolutely neceſſary. This medium could only be ſettled in proceſs of time; and before this was effected, the commodity fell to an exceeding low price. This decreaſe in the value, which was alſo owing to the negligent manner of making it, was ſo great, that raw ſugar, which ſold for fourteen or fifteen livres [from 11s. 8d. to 12s. 6d.] per hundred in 1682, fetched no more than five or ſix [from 4s. 2d. to 5s.] in 1713.

The low price of the ſtaple commodity would have made it impoſſible for the coloniſts to increaſe the number of their ſlaves, even if the government, by its conduct, had not contributed to this misfortune. The negro trade was always in the hands of excluſive companies, who imported but few, in order to be certain of ſelling them at a better price. We have good authority to aſſert, that in 1698 there were not twenty thouſand negroes in thoſe numerous ſettlements; and it may ſafely be affirmed, that moſt of theſe had been brought in by contraband traders. Fifty-four ſhips of a

moderate ſize were ſufficient to bring over the whole produce of theſe colonies.

The French iſlands could not but ſink under ſo many difficulties. If the inhabitants did not forſake them, and carry the fruit of their induſtry to other places, their perſeverance muſt be attributed to reſources that did not depend upon adminiſtration. When ſome production was oppreſſed, the planter turned his attention ſuddenly to another, which had not yet attracted the notice of the treaſury, or which they were apprehenſive of cruſhing in its infancy. The coaſts were never ſufficiently guarded to prevent all the connections formed with foreign navigators. The plunders of the freebooters were ſometimes converted into advances for culture. At length the propenſity which was daily increaſing in the Old World for the productions of the New, greatly encouraged the multiplication of them. Theſe means, however, would never have been ſufficient to raiſe the French colonies from their ſtate of languor. A great revolution was neceſſary, and it was brought about in 1716.

*Meaſures adopted by the court of Verſailles, to render their colonies uſeful.*

At this period, a plain and ſimple regulation was ſubſtituted in lieu of a multitude of equivocal orders, which rapacious officers of the revenue had, from time to time, extorted from the wants and weakneſs of government. The merchandize deſtined for the colonies was exempted from all taxes. The duties upon American commodities deſigned for home conſumption were greatly lowered. The goods brought over for exportation were to be entered and cleared out freely, upon paying three per cent. The duties laid upon foreign ſugars were to be levied everywhere alike, without any regard to particular immunities, except in caſes of re-exportation in the ports of Bayonne and Marſeilles.

In granting ſo many favours to her remote poſſeſſions, the mother country was not unmindful of her own intereſts. All merchandize prohibited at home, was alſo forbidden in the colonies. To ſecure the preference to its own manufactures, it was enacted, that even ſuch commodities as were not prohibited ſhould pay duty on their entry into France,

although they were deſtined for the colonies. Salt beef alone, which the mother country could not furniſh in competition, was exempted from this duty.

This regulation would have been as beneficial a one as the times would admit of, if the edict had allowed that the trade from America, which till then had been confined to a few ſea-ports, ſhould be general; and if it had releaſed ſhips from the neceſſity of returning to the place from whence they came. Theſe reſtraints limited the number of ſeamen, raiſed the expences of navigation, and prevented the exportation of the productions of the country. The perſons who were then at the head of affairs ought to have been ſenſible of theſe inconveniencies, and no doubt intended one day to reſtore to trade that freedom and ſpirit which alone can make it flouriſh. They were probably forced to ſacrifice their own views to the clamours of men in power, who openly diſapproved of whatever oppoſed their own intereſt.

Notwithſtanding this weakneſs, the coloniſts, who had reluctantly given up the hopes of an excellent ſoil, beſtowed their utmoſt induſtry upon it, as ſoon as they were allowed that liberty. Their ſucceſs aſtoniſhed all nations. If government, on the arrival of the French in the New World, had only foreſeen what they learned from experience a century later, the ſtate might ſoon have enjoyed, from the advantages of cultivation, that wealth which would have added more to its proſperity than conqueſts; it would not then have been as much ruined by its victories as by its defeats. Thoſe prudent miniſters, who repaired the loſſes of war by a happy revolution in trade, would not have had the mortification to ſee that Santa Cruz was evacuated in 1696, and St. Chriſtophers given up at the peace of Utrecht. Their concern would have been greatly heightened, could they have foreſeen that in 1763 the French would be reduced to deliver up the Granades to the Engliſh. Strange infatuation of the ambition of nations, or rather of kings! After ſacrificing thouſands of lives to acquire and to preſerve a remote poſſeſſion, a greater number muſt ſtill be laviſhed to loſe it. Yet France has ſome important colonies left: let us begin with Guiana, which lies to windward of the reſt.

*Notions concerning Guiana. Motives which induced the Europeans to frequent it.*

The people who roved about this vaſt tract before the arrival of the Europeans, were divided into ſeveral nations, none of which were very numerous. Their manners were the ſame as thoſe of the ſavages of the ſouthern continent. The Caribs only, who from their numbers and courage were more turbulent than the reſt, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a remarkable cuſtom in the choice of their chiefs. To be qualified to govern ſuch a people, it was neceſſary a man ſhould have more ſtrength, more intrepidity, and more knowledge, than the reſt of his brethren; and that he ſhould give evident and public proofs of theſe ſuperior qualifications.

The man, who aſpired to the honour of commanding his brethren, was previouſly to be well acquainted with all the places fit for hunting and fiſhing, and with all the ſprings and roads. He was obliged to endure long and ſevere faſts; and was afterwards expoſed to carry burthens of an enormous weight. He uſed to paſs ſeveral nights as a centinel, at the entrance of the carbet or principal hut. He was buried up to the waiſt in an ant's neſt, where he remained for a conſiderable time expoſed to ſharp and bloody ſtings. If in all theſe ſituations he ſhewed a ſtrength and fortitude fit to ſupport the dangers and hardſhips incident to the lives of ſavages; if he was one who could endure every thing, and fear nothing; he was declared fit to be their chief. He withdrew, however, as if conſcious of what his intended dignity required, and concealed himſelf under thick buſhes. The people went out to ſeek him in a retreat, which made him more deſerving of the poſt he ſeemed to decline. Each of the aſſiſtants trode upon his head, to ſhew him, that, being raiſed from the duſt by his equals, it was in their power to ſink him into it again, if ever he ſhould be forgetful of the duties of his ſtation. Such was the ceremony of his coronation. Here we behold ſavages who had juſter notions of ſovereignty, and were better acquainted with their privileges, than moſt civilized nations are. After this political leſſon, all the bows and arrows are thrown at his feet; and the nation was obedient to his laws, or rather to his example.

Such were the inhabitants of Guiana, when the Spaniard Alphonſo de Ojeda firſt landed there in 1499, with Americus Veſpucius and John de la Coſa. He went over a part of it; but this experiment afforded him only a ſuperficial knowledge of ſo vaſt a country. Many others were undertaken at a greater expence, but they proved ſtill more unſucceſsful. They were, however, ſtill continued, from a motive which ever did and ever will deceive mankind.

A report had prevailed, though its origin could not be diſcovered, that in the interior parts of Guiana there was a country known by the name of *El Dorado*, which contained immenſe riches in gold and precious ſtones; more mines and treaſures than ever Cortez and Pizarro had found. This fable not only inflamed the ardent imagination of the Spaniards, but fired every nation in Europe.

Sir Walter Raleigh in particular, one of the moſt extraordinary men that ever appeared in a country abounding in ſingular characters, was ſeized with this enthuſiaſm. He was paſſionately fond of every thing that was magnificent; he enjoyed a reputation ſuperior to that of the greateſt men; he had more knowledge than thoſe whoſe immediate purſuit was learning; he poſſeſſed a freedom of thinking uncommon in thoſe days; and had a kind of romantic turn in his ſentiments and behaviour. This determined him, in 1595, to undertake a voyage to Guiana; but he returned without diſcovering any thing relative to the object of his voyage. On his return, however, he publiſhed an account, full of the moſt brilliant impoſtures that ever amuſed the credulity of mankind.

So ſplendid a teſtimony determined ſome Frenchmen, in 1604, to ſail towards thoſe countries under the direction of La Ravardiere. Other adventurers of their nation ſoon followed their example. They all ſubmitted to incredible fatigues. At length ſome of them, rather diſcouraged by the infinite labours they underwent, than undeceived in their expectations, ſettled on the iſland of Cayenne.

*The French ſettle in Guiana, and languiſh there during a century.*

Some merchants of Rouen, thinking that this riſing ſettlement might prove advantageous, united their ſtock in 1643. They intruſted their affairs in the hands of a man of a ferocious diſpoſition,

named Poncet de Britigny, who, having declared war both againſt the coloniſts and the ſavages, was ſoon maſſacred.

This cataſtrophe having checked the ardour of the aſſociates, a new company was eſtabliſhed in 1651, which ſeemed to promiſe to be much more conſiderable than the former. They ſet out with ſo large a capital as to enable them to collect, in Paris itſelf, ſeven or eight hundred coloniſts. Theſe embarked on the Seine, in order to ſail down to Havre de Grace. Unfortunately, the virtuous Abbé de Marivault, who was the principal promoter of this undertaking, and was to have had the management of it as director-general, was drowned as he was ſtepping into his boat. Roiville, a gentleman of Normandy, who was going over to Cayenne as general, was aſſaſſinated in the paſſage. Twelve of the principal adventurers, who were the perpetrators of this act, and had undertaken to put the colony into a flouriſhing condition, behaved there in as atrocious a manner as might be expected from ſo horrid a beginning. They hanged one of their own number; two died; three were baniſhed to a deſert iſland; the reſt abandoned themſelves to every kind of exceſs. The commandant of the citadel deſerted to the Dutch, with part of his garriſon. The remainder, that had eſcaped hunger, poverty, and the fury of the ſavages, which had been rouſed by numberleſs provocations, thought themſelves happy in being able to get over to the Leeward iſlands in a boat and two canoes. They abandoned the fort, ammunition, arms, and merchandize, with five or ſix hundred dead bodies of their wretched companions, fifteen months after they had landed on the iſland.

A new company was formed in 1663, under the direction of La Barre, maſter of requeſts. Their capital was no more than two hundred thouſand livres [8,333l. 6s. 8d.] The aſſiſtance they obtained from the miniſtry enabled them to expel the Dutch, who, under the conduct of Spranger, had taken poſſeſſion of the lands granted to them, after they had been evacuated by the firſt poſſeſſors. A year after, this inconſiderable body made a part of the great company, to which were united all thoſe that the nation had formed for Africa and the New World. In 1667, Cayenne was inſulted, pillaged, and abandoned, by the Engliſh; the coloniſts, who had fled from it, took poſſeſ-

fion of it again; and it was again taken from them in 1672 by the ſubjects of the United provinces, who could not keep it longer than to the year 1676. At this period they were driven out by the Marſhal d'Etrées; but the colony hath not been attacked ſince.

This ſettlement, ſo often overturned, had but juſt begun to be re-eſtabliſhed, and to enjoy ſome tranquillity, when great hopes were entertained of its ſucceſs. Some pirates, laden with ſpoils they had gathered in the South ſeas, came and fixed there; and, what was of greater conſequence, reſolved to employ their treaſures in the cultivation of the lands. It was probable that their plan would be proſecuted with vigour, becauſe their means were great; when Ducaſſe propoſed to them in 1688, the plundering of Surinam. This excited their natural turn for plunder; the new coloniſts became pirates again, and almoſt all the inhabitants followed their example.

The expedition proved unfortunate. Some of the beſiegers fell in the attack; the reſt were taken priſoners, and ſent to the Caribbee iſlands, where they ſettled. The colony has never recovered this loſs. Far from extending into Guiana, it has never been in a proſperous ſtate at Cayenne.

This iſland, which is only parted from the continent by one river, which is divided into two branches, may be about fourteen or fifteen leagues in circumference. By a particular formation, very rarely to be met with in iſlands, the land is high near the waterſide, and low in the middle. Hence it is interſected, with ſo many moraſſes, that all communication is almoſt impracticable. The only town in the colony is built in a plain of two miles in extent, where navigable canals might have been made with eaſe, though care hath not even been taken to drain the waters from it. This village conſiſts of a number of barracks, heaped upon one another without order or convenience, where fevers are rather frequent in ſummer, notwithſtanding the boaſted ſalubrity of the ſpot. It is defended by a covered way, a large ditch, a mud rampart, and five baſtions. In the middle of the town is rather a conſiderable eminence, of which a redoubt has been made, that is called the fort, where forty men might be able to capitulate after the place had been taken. The entrance into the harbour hath not much more than thirteen feet water. The ſhips might touch the

ground at fourteen feet, but fortunately the mud is soft and the keel may be driven into it without danger.

The first productions of Cayenne were, the arnotto, cotton, and sugar. It was the first of all the French colonies that cultivated coffee; which was brought thither, as it hath always been, and perhaps is still believed, in 1721 by some deserters, who purchased their pardon by conveying it from Surinam, where they had taken refuge. An accurate historian hath lately affirmed, probably from authentic information, that this plant was a present of M. de la Motte Aigron, who, in 1722, had the dexterity to bring away from this Dutch settlement some fresh coffee berries, notwithstanding the strict prohibition there is against exporting any of them in the pods. Ten or twelve years after, cocoa was planted.

In 1752, 260,541 pounds weight of arnotto, 80,363 pounds of sugar, 17,919 pounds of cotton, 26,881 pounds of coffee, 91,916 pounds of cocoa, and 618 trees for timber, were exported from the colony. All these articles were the result of the labour of ninety French families, a hundred and twenty-five Indians, and fifteen hundred blacks; which made up the whole of the colony.

*The court of Versailles intend to render Guiana flourishing.*

Such, and weaker still, was the state of Cayenne, when, in 1763, the court of Versailles endeavoured to render it extremely flourishing, by a system which occasioned a general astonishment. The French had then just emerged from the horrors of an unsuccessful war. The situation of affairs had determined the ministry to purchase peace with the cession of several important colonies. It appeared equally necessary to make the nation forget her distresses, and the errors that had been the cause of them. The prospect of better fortune might amuse the people, and silence their clamours; while their attention was removed from possessions the nation had lost, and turned towards Guiana, which, it was pretended, would compensate all their misfortunes.

This was not the opinion of the citizens who appeared to be the best informed of the situation of things. A settlement formed a century and a half before, at a period when the minds of men were impetuously urged to great

undertakings; a ſettlement, the labours of which had not been ruined by civil diſcords, nor by foreign wars; a ſettlement, which had been ruled by prudent directors, with attention and diſintereſtedneſs; a ſettlement, which had always experienced the favours of government and the aſſiſtance of trade; a ſettlement, where there was a conſtant and certain mart for the productions; yet, with all theſe advantages, this ſettlement was of no conſequence. No plantation had ever been ſeen to flouriſh; no fortune had ever been raiſed in it. Miſery and obſcurity had obſtinately attended at thoſe periods, when the other French poſſeſſions in America aſtoniſhed the Old and the New World by their ſplendour and by their riches. Its fate, far from being amended by time and by the advancement of knowledge, was become daily more unfortunate. How therefore could it poſſibly fulfil the important deſtiny that was prepared for it? Theſe conſiderations did not reſtrain the miniſtry. Let us hear what hath been ſaid in juſtification of their views.

America, when it was firſt invaded by Europe, exhibited to it two regions entirely different from each other, the torrid zone, and the temperate zone of the north. The firſt preſented to the thirſt of gold, innumerable objects of gratification; various allurements to cupidity, to idleneſs repoſe; to voluptuouſneſs its incitement; to luxury its reſources. That nation which firſt took poſſeſſion of it, muſt have dazzled by its ſplendour, and ſeduced men by the image of its happineſs. An opulence as ſtriking as it was rapid, could not fail of giving it in the Old World an influence ſo much the more extenſive, as the nature of true riches was unknown there, and as its rivals found themſelves ſuddenly plunged into a ſtate of relative indigence, as inſupportable as that which is real. Its new domain was the country calculated for deſpotiſm. The heat prevailing there exhauſted the ſtrength of the body; and indolence, the neceſſary conſequence of a fertility which ſupplies all wants without labour, deprived the ſoul of all its energy. This country ſubmitted to its deſtiny. The people who inhabited it were ſlaves who waited for a maſter; he came, and ordered them to obey, and his commands were reſpected. The ſpirit of abſolute monarchy was a production of the ſoil, which he found already formed there; but he al-

ſo found an impending enemy which nothing can reſiſt, and which, in its turn, muſt neceſſarily ſubdue him; this was the climate. In the firſt intoxication of conqueſt, the uſurper formed the moſt extenſive projects, and conceived hopes apparently the beſt founded. He conſidered the ſign of wealth as the plaſtic and preſerving principle of political ſtrength; and how is it poſſible that he ſhould not have been deceived in this particular? If we have got rid of this prejudice, it is perhaps to the diſaſters of that power that we owe this great leſſon. They imagined, that with gold they could keep the nations in their pay, as they keep the negroes in their chains; and never conſidered that this gold, which procured them jealous allies, would turn them into ſo many powerful adverſaries; who, uniting their arms with the riches they received, would make uſe of this double power to effect their ruin.

The temperate zone of North America could only attract free and laborious people. It furniſhes no productions but what are common and neceſſary; and which, for that very reaſon, are a conſtant ſource of wealth and ſtrength. It favours population, by ſupplying materials for that quiet and peaceful ſpecies of huſbandry which fixes and multiplies families; and, as it does not excite inordinate deſires, is a ſecurity againſt invaſion. It reaches through an immenſe continent, and preſents a large extent of country, on every ſide, open to navigation. Its coaſts are waſhed by a ſea which is generally navigable, and abounds with harbours. The coloniſts are not at ſo great a diſtance from the mother country; they live in a climate more analogous to their own; and a ſituation that is fit for hunting, fiſhing, huſbandry, and for all the manly exerciſes and labours which improve the ſtrength of the body, and are preſervatives againſt the vices that taint the mind. Thus, in America, as in Europe, the north will have the ſuperiority over the ſouth. The one will be covered with inhabitants and plantations; while the other will laviſh its voluptuous liquors and its golden mines. The one will be able to civilize the ſavage nations by its intercourſe with a free people; the other will only produce a monſtrous mixture of a race of ſlaves with a nation of tyrants, which can never acquire any degree of ſtrength.

It was of great importance to the ſouthern colonies to

have their reſources for population and ſtrength in the north, where they might exchange the commodities of luxury for thoſe of neceſſity, and keep open a communication that might afford them ſuccours if they were attacked; a retreat in caſe they were defeated, and a ſupply of land-forces to balance the weakneſs of their naval reſources.

Before the laſt war, the French ſouthern colonies enjoyed this advantage. Canada, by its ſituation, the warlike genius of its inhabitants, their alliances with the Indian nations in friendſhip with the French, and fond of the frankneſs and freedom of their manners, might balance, or at leaſt give umbrage to New England. The loſs of that great continent determined the French miniſtry to ſeek for ſupport from one another. Guiana was thought a very proper ſituation for this purpoſe, if a free and national population could be eſtabliſhed there, which might be able to reſiſt foreign attacks, and, in courſe of time, to furniſh a ſpeedy aſſiſtance to the other colonies, when circumſtances might require it.

Such was evidently the ſyſtem of the miniſter. It never occurred to him, that a part of the world, thus inhabited, could never enrich the mother country by the produce of ſuch commodities as are peculiar to the ſouthern colonies. He was too intelligent not to know, that there is no ſuch thing as ſelling, without complying with the general run of the market; and that this cannot be done but by producing ſaleable commodities at the ſame rate as other nations can afford them; and that labours, executed by free men, muſt of neceſſity bear a much higher price than thoſe that are exacted from ſlaves.

The meaſures were directed by an active miniſter. As a wiſe politician, who does not ſacrifice ſafety to wealth, he only propoſed to raiſe a bulwark to protect the French poſſeſſions. As a philoſopher, who feels for his fellow-creatures, who knows and reſpects the rights of humanity, he wiſhed to people theſe fertile but deſert regions with free men. But genius, eſpecially when too impatient of ſucceſs, cannot foreſee every circumſtance. The miſtake proceeded from ſuppoſing, that Europeans would be able to undergo the fatigues of preparing lands for cultivation under the torrid zone; and that men, who quitted their own country only in hopes of living with greater ſatisfac-

tion in another, would accommodate themſelves to the precarious ſubſiſtence of a ſavage life, in a worſe climate than that which they had left.

This bad ſyſtem, which the government was drawn into by a ſet of enterpriſing men, who were either miſled by their preſumption, or who ſacrificed the public good to their own private views, was as extravagantly executed as it had been inconſiderately adopted. Every thing was blended together, without any principle of legiſlation, and without conſidering in what manner nature had adapted the ſeveral lands to the men who were to inhabit them. The inhabitants were divided into two claſſes, the proprietors and the mercenaries. It was not conſidered that this diviſion, at preſent eſtabliſhed in Europe, and in moſt civilized nations, was the conſequence of wars, of revolutions, and of the numberleſs chances which time produces; that it was the effect of the progreſs of civilization, not the baſis and foundation of ſociety, which in its origin requires that all its members ſhould have ſome property. Colonies, which are new populations and new ſocieties, ought to adhere to this fundamental rule. It was broken through at the very firſt eſtabliſhment of the colony, by allotting lands in Guiana to thoſe only who were able to advance a certain fund for the cultivation of them. Others, whoſe deſires were tempted with uncertain hopes, were excluded from this diviſion of lands. This was an error equally contrary to ſound policy and humanity. Had a portion of land been given to every new inhabitant that was ſent over to this barren and deſert country, each perſon would have cultivated his own ſpot, in proportion to his ſtrength or abilities; one, by the means his money would have afforded him; another, by his own labour. It was neceſſary that thoſe, who were poſſeſſed of a capital, ſhould neither be diſcouraged, becauſe they were men of great importance to a riſing colony; nor that they ſhould have an excluſive preference given them, leſt it ſhould prevent them from having aſſiſtants who might be willing to be dependent on them. It was alſo indiſpenſably neceſſary, that every member of the new colony ſhould be offered ſome property, with which he might employ his labour, his induſtry, his money, in a word, his greater or leſs powers to his advantage. It ought to have been foreſeen, that Europeans, in

whatever ſituation they were, would not quit their own country, but with the hopes of improving their fortune; and that deceiving their hopes and confidence in this reſpect, would be an effectual way to ruin the colony intended to be eſtabliſhed.

Men, who are tranſplanted into uncultivated regions, are ſurrounded with wants of every kind; the beſt-directed, and moſt continued labours, cannot prevent thoſe, who go into thoſe deſerts to clear the lands, from being deprived of every reſource, till the period, more or leſs diſtant, of the harveſt arrives. Accordingly, the court of Verſailles, by whom ſo ſtriking a truth could not be unnoticed, engaged to ſupport, indiſcriminately, all the Germans, and all the French, who were intended to eſtabliſh the population of Guiana. But this, though an act of juſtice, was not an act of prudence. It ought to have been foreſeen, that the proviſions would be ill-choſen by the agents of government. It ought to have been foreſeen, that if they had even been choſen with zeal, prudence, and diſintereſtedneſs, moſt of them muſt unavoidably have been ſpoiled, either in the paſſage or on their arrival. It ought to have been foreſeen, that ſalt meats, either well or ill preſerved, would never be a proper food for unfortunate refugees, who had forſaken a wholeſome and temperate climate, to live among the burning ſands of the torrid zone, and to breathe the damp and rainy air of the tropics.

A judicious plan of policy ought to have attended to the multiplication of cattle, before it had thought of ſettling men there. This precaution would not only have inſured a wholeſome ſubſiſtence to the firſt coloniſts, it would likewiſe have ſupplied them with convenient inſtruments for the undertakings which are required in the formation of a new colony. With this aſſiſtance, they would have thought nothing of labours, which the miniſtry would have undertaken to pay liberally, and would have prepared habitations and proviſions for thoſe who were to come after them. By purſuing ſuch meaſures, which could not require any depth of thought, the ſettlement which it was intended to form, would have acquired, in a ſhort time, the conſiſtence of which it was ſuſceptible.

Theſe very plain and natural reflections were never ſuggeſted. Twelve thouſand men, after a tedious voyage,

were landed upon dreary and inhoſpitable ſhores. It is well known, that, almoſt throughout the torrid zone, the year is divided into two ſeaſons, the dry and the rainy. In Guiana, ſuch heavy rains fall from the beginning of November to the end of May, that the lands are either overflowed, or at leaſt unfit for tillage. Had the new coloniſts arrived there in the beginning of the dry ſeaſon, and been placed on the lands deſtined for them, they would have had time to put their habitations in order, to cut down or burn the woods, and to plough and ſow their fields.

For want of theſe precautions, they knew not where to beſtow ſuch multitudes of people as were conſtantly pouring in juſt at the rainy ſeaſon. The iſland of Cayenne might have been a proper place for the reception and refreſhment of the new comers, till they could have been diſpoſed of; there they might have found lodging and aſſiſtance. But the falſe opinion which prevailed, that the new colony muſt not be intermixed with the old, deprived them of this reſource. In conſequence of this prejudice, twelve thouſand unfortunate men were landed on the iſlands Du Salut, or on the banks of the Kourou, and were placed under tents, or under miſerable ſheds. In this ſituation, totally inactive, weary of exiſtence, and in want of all neceſſaries, expoſed to contagious diſtempers, which are always occaſioned by tainted proviſions, and to all the irregularities which idleneſs neceſſarily produces among men of the loweſt claſs, removed far from their native country, and placed under a foreign ſky; they ended their wretched life in all the horrors of deſpair. Their fate will ever call aloud for vengeance on thoſe who either invented or promoted ſo deſtructive a ſcheme, to which ſo many victims were ſacrificed; as if the devaſtations of war, which they were intended to repair, had not ſwept away a ſufficient number in the courſe of eight years.

That nothing might be wanting to complete this diſaſter, and that 25,000,000 of livres [1,041,666l. 13s. 4d.] employed in the ſucceſs of this abſurd ſyſtem, might be entirely loſt, the man who was commiſſioned to put an end to theſe various calamities, thought proper to bring back into Europe two thouſand men, whoſe robuſt conſtitution had reſiſted the inclemeney of the climate, and had enabled them to ſupport greater miſeries than are to be deſcribed.

The ſtate hath fortunately had ſufficient ſtrength to bear theſe heavy loſſes. But how dreadful is it for our country, for the ſubjects, for every man who is intereſted in the lives of his fellow-citizens, to ſee them thus laviſhed upon ruinous enterpriſes, by an abſurd jealouſy of authority, which enjoins the moſt rigorous ſecrecy upon all public tranſactions! Is it not then the intereſt of the whole nation, that her rulers ſhould be well informed? And how can they be ſo, but from collecting general information? Why ſhould projects, of which the people are to be both the object and the inſtrument, be concealed from them? Can the will be commanded without the judgment, or can we inſpire courage without confidence? The only true information is to be obtained from public writings, where truth appears undiſguiſed, and falſehood fears to be detected. Secret memoirs, private ſchemes, are commonly the work of artful and intereſted men, who inſinuate themſelves into the cabinets of perſons in adminiſtration, by dark, oblique, and indirect, ways. When a prince or a miniſter has acted according to the opinion of the public, or of enlightened men, if he be unfortunate, he cannot on any account be blamed. But, when enterpriſes are undertaken without the advice, or againſt the ſenſe, of the people; when events are brought on unknown to thoſe whoſe lives and fortunes are expoſed by them; what can this be but a ſecret league, a combination of a few individuals againſt ſociety in general? Can it be poſſible, that authority ſhould think itſelf degraded by an intercourſe with the citizens? Or will men in power for ever treat the reſt of mankind with ſo great a degree of contempt, as not even to deſire that the injuries they have done them ſhould be forgiven?

What has been the conſequence of that cataſtrophe, in which ſo many ſubjects, ſo many foreigners, have been ſacrificed to the illuſions of the French miniſtry with reſpect to Guiana? This unhappy climate has been inveighed againſt with all the rancour with which reſentment and misfortune can aggravate its real evils. Fortunately, the obſervations of a few enlightened men enable us to clear up this confuſion.

*Idea that muſt be formed of the coaſts and of the ſoil of Guiana.*

This vaſt country, which was decorated with the magnificent title of Equinoxial France, is not the ſole property of the court of Verſailles, as they formerly pretended. The Dutch, by ſettling to the north, and the Portugueſe to the ſouth, have confined the French between the rivers of Marony and Vincent Pinçon, or Oyapock, which interval ſtill forms a ſpace of more than a hundred leagues.

The ſeas which water this long extent of coaſt, are ſafe, open, and free from any obſtacle which might impede navigation. There are only the iſlands Du Salut, at three leagues diſtance from the continent, to be ſeen in them. As they are divided only by a channel of fourſcore toiſes, they might be eaſily united, and after their junction they would form a ſufficient ſhelter for the largeſt ſhips. Nature hath diſpoſed things in ſuch a manner, that the poſt might be rendered impregnable at a trifling expence, with the materials which are to be found upon the ſpot. From this harbour, which abounds in turtles part of the year, and which is ſituated to windward of the archipelago of America, a ſquadron might, in time of war, ſail in the ſpace of ſeven or eight days to the aſſiſtance of the national poſſeſſions, or to attack thoſe belonging to the enemies of France.

There is no danger to be feared in theſe latitudes. The winds are generally favourable for approaching the coaſts, as much or as little as one may chooſe. If the contrary ſhould happen, which is extremely uncommon; or if there ſhould be a calm, the ſhips have the reſource of anchoring everywhere upon an excellent bottom.

Theſe advantages are unfortunately accompanied with a few inconveniencies. The navigators are obſtructed, on their coming in, by rapid currents. If, in order to avoid them, they ſhould go too near the land, they would find almoſt everywhere a deficiency of water. There is not any to be found, even at the mouth of the rivers, which can receive none but very ſmall ſhips. The river Aprouague is the only one which is twelve feet deep. In this river the veſſels may be run aground upon a ſoft bottom, and may undergo all the neceſſary repairs, without creating any anxiety. It is neceſſary, however, to make great diſpatch,

because the best constructed and best fitted out vessels, are destroyed in a small space of time, by the worms, by the muddy waters, by the rains, and by the heats.

In this region, though near the equator, the climate is very supportable. This temperature may be attributed, perhaps, to the length of the nights, and to the abundance of fogs and dews. Guiana never experiences those suffocating heats which are so common in many other countries of America.

Unfortunately, this colony is destroyed by deluges of water, during the first six months of the year, and sometimes longer. These superabundant rains level the elevated situations, drown the plains, destroy the plants, and frequently suspend the most urgent labours. Vegetation is at that time so powerful, that it is impossible to restrain it within proper limits, whatever numbers of people may be employed for that purpose. To this calamity succeeds another, and that is a long drought, which opens and parches up the ground.

Various have, for a long time, been the opinions concerning the soil of Guiana. It is known at present, that it is mostly a stony turf, covered over with sand, and with the remains of some vegetables. These grounds are worked with facility, but their produce is very trifling, and even does not last longer than five or six years. The planter is then obliged to till new grounds, which undergo the same fate as the former. Those tillages even, which are executed in some parts of a deeper soil, which is to be found at intervals, do not last long, because the repeated rains, which fall in torrents in those regions, soon wash away the juice that might render them fruitful.

It was upon these meagre plains that the first French, who were driven to Guiana by a fatal destiny, formed a settlement. The generations which succeeded them searched for more fertile territories in all parts, but could not find any. In vain did the treasury make several great sacrifices to improve this colony. These expences were unavailing, because they could not alter the nature of things. The example of the Dutch, who, after having languished in the neighbourhood upon the high grounds, had at last succeeded upon plantations formed in morasses, which were drained off with immense labour, did not make any im-

preſſion. At length M. Malouet, being intruſted with the adminiſtration of this unfortunate ſettlement, hath himſelf carried into execution what he had ſeen practiſed at Surinam; and the place which he had reſcued from the ocean was immediately covered with proviſions. This circumſtance hath inſpired the coloniſts with a ſpirit of emulation, of which they were not thought to be ſuſceptible, and they wait only for the favourable aſſiſtance of government, to enrich the mother country with their productions.

The plantations will be hereafter eſtabliſhed upon thoſe territories that are formed by levelling of the mountains, and by the ſea. It will be neceſſary to dry up the moraſſes, to dig canals, and to conſtruct dikes. But why ſhould the French be apprehenſive of undertaking what they have executed with ſo much ſucceſs upon their own frontiers? Why ſhould the court of Verſailles refuſe to encourage, by loans and by gratifications, labours of tillage that are really uſeful? It is in the clearing of the lands that conſiſts the true conqueſt over chaos, for the advantage of all mankind; and not in the obtaining of provinces, which are depopulated and laid waſte, in order that we may acquire them; which laviſh the blood of two nations, without enriching either; and which muſt be maintained at a great expence, and covered for ages with troops, before we can flatter ourſelves with the peaceable poſſeſſion of them.

Every thing invites the French miniſtry to purſue the plan which we have ventured to propoſe. The ſubterraneous fires, which are ſo common in the reſt of America, are at preſent extinguiſhed in Guiana. There are never any earthquakes, neither do hurricanes exerciſe their ravages upon thoſe coaſts. The acceſs to this country is attended with ſo many difficulties, that we may foretel it will not be conquered. The French iſlands, on the contrary, which have already been once taken, attract the attention, and incite the cupidity, of a nation, highly diſſatisfied with having reſtored them. This circumſtance makes us preſume, that they will always be diſpoſed to repair, by force of arms, the defects of their negociations. The well-grounded confidence they repoſe in their navy, may perhaps ſoon precipitate them into a new war, in order that they may regain what they have reſtored, and extend their

uſurpations ſtill further. Should fortune again favour their enterpriſes: ſhould a people, encouraged by victories, of which the citizens alone reap the advantages, be for ever triumphant over a nation which fights for their kings only; Guiana would at leaſt prove a great reſource, where all the productions which are become neceſſary by habit, might be cultivated; for which an enormous tribute muſt be paid to foreigners, if the colonies of the nation were unable to furniſh them.

The drying up of the coaſts of Guiana would require long and difficult labours. Where can a ſufficient number of men be found for the accompliſhment of this undertaking?

*What men could be employed for the cultures of which Guiana is ſuſceptible.*

It was thought in 1763, that the Europeans would be fit for this purpoſe. Twelve thouſand of them were the victims of this opinion. About ſixty German, or Acadian families, alone eſcaped the cataſtrophe. They ſettled upon the Sinamary, the banks of which are never overflowed by the ſea, and where there are ſome natural meadows, and a great quantity of turtles. This ſmall colony increaſes, and lives happily along the ſide of that river. Their reſources conſiſt of fiſhing, hunting, breeding of cattle, and the culture of a ſmall quantity of rice and of maize. Some ſpeculative perſons have concluded from this inſtance, that white people might be able to cultivate Guiana; but they have not conſidered, that colonies have been founded only for the purpoſe of obtaining vendible commodities; and that theſe commodities require labours, more conſtant and more fatiguing than thoſe which are cultivated on the borders of the Sinamary.

The natives of the country might, it is ſaid, execute without inconvenience thoſe labours which are fatal to us. Theſe ſavages were ſufficiently numerous upon the coaſt when it was diſcovered; but their number hath been ſo much diminiſhed by European cruelties, that there are at preſent no more than four or five hundred of them capable of bearing arms. But ſome adventurers, who have lately penetrated into the inland countries, have diſcovered ſeveral ſmall nations, each more barbarous than the other. They

have everywhere perceived the oppreſſion of the women, ſuperſtitions which prevent the increaſe of population, animoſities which can only be extinguiſhed by the entire deſtruction of families and of colonies; the ſhocking neglect of old and of ſick people; the habitual uſe of the moſt various and the moſt ſubtile poiſons, and a multitude of other evils, the hideous ſpectacle of which is too generally diſplayed in a ſtate of nature. Travellers, however, are received with reſpect, and aſſiſted with the moſt unbounded generoſity and the moſt affecting ſimplicity. They enter into the hut of the ſavage, ſit down by the ſide of his naked wife and daughters, partake of their repaſt, and repoſe upon the ſame bed. The next day they are laden with proviſions, and accompanied to ſome diſtance on their journey by the ſavages, from whom they part with demonſtrations of friendſhip. But this hoſpitable ſcene may become bloody in an inſtant. The ſavage is jealous to exceſs, and on the leaſt ſign of familiarity which would alarm him, he would put his gueſt to death.

The firſt ſtep to be taken would be, to collect theſe perpetually wandering people. This meaſure might be facilitated, by diſtributing in a proper manner a few preſents, ſuited to their taſte. The moſt ſcrupulous attention ſhould be exerted, to avoid bringing together in the ſame place ſuch of theſe nations as have an inſurmountable averſion to each other.

Theſe colonies ſhould not be caſually formed. It would be proper to diſtribute them in ſuch a manner as to be able to penetrate, with eaſe, into the inland parts. In proportion as theſe ſettlements ſhall acquire ſtrength, they will facilitate the eſtabliſhment of new habitations.

No conſideration hath yet been powerful enough to fix theſe Indians. The beſt way to ſucceed, would be to diſtribute cows among them, which they would not be able to feed, without cutting down woods, in order to form paſture grounds. The vegetables and the fruit-trees with which their habitation would be enriched, might prove a further inducement to them to give up their wandering life. It is probable that theſe reſources, the advantage of which they have never known, might diſguſt them, in time, of hunting and fiſhing, which are at preſent the only ſupport of their miſerable and precarious exiſtence.

3.

There would ſtill remain a much more fatal prejudice to ſubdue. It is an idea generally adopted among nations, that ſedentary occupations are ſuitable to women only. This ſenſeleſs pride degrades all kinds of labours in the eyes of the men. An intelligent miſſionary might employ his time to advantage, in combating this infatuation. He would ennoble the labours of agriculture, by exerciſing them himſelf with his children; and by this great and fortunate ſtratagem, he would ſucceed in diffuſing a new ſyſtem of morality among the young men. It might, perhaps, be alſo poſſible to overcome the indolence even of the parents, if it could be contrived to excite their deſires. It is not improbable but that they would cultivate proviſions, in order to barter them againſt ſome other mercantile articles, which might have become neceſſary to them from habit.

This ſalutary end would be far from being anſwered, if the ſavages, when collected together, were ſubjected to a poll-tax, and to the labours of vaſſalage, as they have been by the Portugueſe and the Spaniards, upon the borders of the Amazon, of the Rio-negro, and of the Oroonoko. Theſe people muſt have been ſuffered to enjoy, for ages, the benefits of cultivation, before they ſhould be obliged to bear the burthens of it.

But even after this happy revolution, Guiana would ſtill but very imperfectly fulfil the extenſive views which the court of Verſailles may have. The feeble hands of the Indians will only bring forth commodities of moderate value. In order to obtain rich productions, it will be neceſſary to have recourſe to the ſtrong arms of the negroes.

The facility which theſe ſlaves will have of deſerting their manufactures, excites apprehenſions. They will take refuge, they will gather together, they will intrench themſelves, it is ſaid, in vaſt foreſts, where the plenty of game and of fiſh will ſupply them with an eaſy ſubſiſtence; where the heat of the climate will allow them to go without clothes; and where they will never want for wood fit to make bows and arrows. One hundred of them had taken this reſolution about thirty years ago. The troops ſent to reduce them again to ſubjection were repulſed. This check excited the apprehenſions of a general deſertion, and conſternation prevailed throughout the colony. They were

uncertain what meaſures to purſue; when a miſſionary ſet out, attended by a ſingle negro, arrived at the ſpot where the engagement had taken place, raiſed up an altar, aſſembled all the deſerters by ringing a bell, ſaid maſs to them, harangued them, and brought them all back, without exception, to their former maſters. But the jeſuits, who had merited and obtained the confidence of theſe unfortunate people, are no longer in the colony; and their ſucceſſors have not ſhewn either the ſame activity, or an equal knowledge of the human heart. Nevertheleſs, it would not, perhaps, be impoſſible to prevent the evaſion of theſe unhappy victims of our cupidity, by rendering their condition ſupportable. The law of neceſſity, which commands even tyrants, will eſtabliſh in this region a ſpirit of moderation, which humanity alone ought to excite everywhere.

This new arrangement of things would engage the government in conſiderable expences. Before they enter upon them, they will examine whether the colony hath hitherto obtained from nature that kind of conſtitution which was neceſſary to make it proſper, and whether Cayenne be the moſt ſuitable place to become the capital of a large eſtabliſhment. This indeed is our opinion: but ſome able men think otherwiſe, and their arguments muſt be diſcuſſed.

Theſe views may be excellent: and yet it is not a matter of ſurpriſe that the advantages of them ſhould not have been ſooner perceived. The diſcernment of ſome things is attended with ſo much difficulty, that it can only be ſurmounted by experience, or by genius. But the progreſs of experience is ſlow, and requires time; and genius, which, like the courſers of the gods, clears an immenſe interval at one leap, may be expected for ages. When it appears, it is either rejected or perſecuted; and when it ſpeaks, it is not heard. If it ſhould by chance be attended to, the ſpirit of jealouſy inveighs againſt its projects, and traducing them as ſublime reveries, makes them abortive. The general intereſt of the multitude might, perhaps, ſupply the penetration of genius, if it were ſuffered freely to exert its influence; but it is inceſſantly thwarted by authority; the depoſitaries of which, while they underſtand nothing, pretend to regulate every thing. Who is the man whom they will honour with their confidence, and with

their intimacy? It is the impudent flatterer, who, without believing it, will be continually repeating to them, that they are a ſet of wonderful beings. The miſchief is firſt done by their folly, and is perpetuated by a ſpirit of falſe ſhame, which prevents them from acknowledging their errors. Falſe combinations are exhauſted, before they have diſcovered the true ones, or before they can reſolve to approve, after having rejected them. Thus it is that the evil prevails, by the childiſhneſs of the ſovereigns, by the incapacity and pride of the miniſters, and by the impatience of the victims. One might be comforted with reſpect to paſt and preſent misfortunes, if the future were to produce an alteration in this deſtiny: but this is a hope with which it is impoſſible to flatter ourſelves. And if the philoſopher were aſked, of what uſe are the counſels which he perſiſts in giving to nations, and to thoſe who govern them, and that he were to anſwer with ſincerity, he would ſay, that he is only ſatisfying an invincible propenſity to declare the truth, at the riſk of exciting general indignation, and even of being obliged to drink the cup of Socrates.

It would be proper to fix the yet unſettled boundaries of Guiana, before any final reſolution be taken reſpecting this colony. The Dutch are very deſirous of extending the frontiers of Surinam to the north, as far as the banks of the Sinamary; but the military poſt which the court of Verſailles have cauſed to be eſtabliſhed upon the right bank of the river Maroni, ſeems entirely to have ſet aſide this ancient pretenſion. Towards the ſouth, the difficulties are ſtill greater. The Amazon was formerly, without diſpute, the boundary of the French poſſeſſions; ſince by a treaty of the 4th March 1700, the Portugueſe engaged to demoliſh the forts which they had erected upon the left bank of that river. At the peace of Utrecht, France, which was under ſubjection, was compelled to cede the navigation of that river, together with the lands which extend as far as the river Vincent Pinçon, or the Oyapock. When the time fixed for the execution of the treaty arrived, it was found, that theſe two words, which were employed as ſynonymous, were deſcribed in the country, as well as in ancient maps, as two rivers thirty leagues diſtant from each other. Both courts were equally deſirous of turning this error to their own advantage. The court of Liſbon

wiſhed to extend its boundaries as far as the Oyapock, and that of Verſailles as far as Vincent Pinçon. Nothing could be determined upon, and the conteſted lands have remained deſert ever ſince that rather remote period.

We will not preſume to decide this important queſtion. The only obſervation we ſhall allow ourſelves to make, will be, that the motive of the ceſſion required by Portugal, was to ſecure to it the excluſive trade upon the Amazon. The ſubjects of this crown will therefore poſſibly enjoy this advantage; by reſtraining the limits of the French poſſeſſions only twenty leagues, and as far as to the river of Vincent Pinçon; without its being neceſſary to puſh them back to the diſtance of fifty leagues, as far as the Oyapock.

*Preſent ſtate of French Guiana.* EVERY thing ſtill remains to be done at Guiana; there are no more than thirty plantations at Cayenne itſelf, and almoſt all of them are in a miſerable condition. The continent is in a ſtill worſe ſtate than the iſland. The habitations are often moved. They are ſeparated by immenſe deſerts. Placed at a greater diſtance from the general mart, they have no facility for bartering their commodities. They enjoy none of the conveniences which men, when collected together, mutually procure to one another. The laws, the police, decency, emulation, the influence of the miniſtry; none of theſe advantages are known there. In 1775 there were no more than thirteen hundred free men, and eight thouſand ſlaves, for the clearing of an extent of one hundred leagues of coaſt. The productions of the colony were even inadequate to theſe trifling means, becauſe in the manufactures there were none but white men without underſtanding, and negroes who were under no kind of ſubordination. The commodities which were taken away, by the veſſels that came from North America, from Guadaloupe, and from Martinico, did not amount to 100,000 livres [4,166l. 13s. 4d.] and France received upon ſix veſſels only forty quintals of ſugar, which were ſold in Europe for 2,156 livres [89l. 16s. 8d.] ſix hundred and fifty-eight quintals, fourſcore and eight pounds of coffee, which were ſold for 31,296 livres 16 ſols [1,304l. 8d.] three quintals thirty-four pounds of indigo, which were ſold for 2,839

livres [118l. 5s. 10d.] one hundred and fifty-two quintals forty-one pounds of cacao, which were ſold for 10,668 livres 16 ſols [444l. 10s. 8d.] three thouſand and three quintals fifty-five pounds of arnotto, which were ſold for 187,706 livres 7 ſols 6 deniers [7,821l. 11s. 11¼d.] nine hundred and ſeventy-two quintals ſixty pounds of cotton, which were ſold for 243,150 livres [10,131l. 5s.] three hundred and fifty-three hides, which were ſold for 3,177 livres [132l. 7s. 6d.] fourteen hundred and twenty-two quintals eight pounds of wood, which were ſold for 7,604 livres three ſols nine deniers [316l. 16s. 10d.] which made, upon the whole, 488,593 livres 3 ſols 3 deniers [about 20,388l. 5s. 2d.] The 600,000 livres [2,500l.] which were ſpent by the court, in this as well in other years, for this ancient eſtabliſhment, ſerved to pay for what had been received beyond theſe exportations. At this period Cayenne was indebted 2,000,000 livres [83,333l. 6s. 8d.] to the government, or to the merchants, of the mother country.

Something may be expected from the knowledge which M. de Malloüet hath diffuſed through the colony, and from the encouragements which this able adminiſtrator hath granted in 1777 to thoſe coloniſts who ſhould devote their labours to the felling of wood for ſhip-building, to the culture of articles of ſubſiſtence, to the ſalting of fiſh, and to ſome other productions of little value, for which he hath inſured them a market. Greater expectations are ſtill raiſed from the ſpice trees. The clove tree hath already yielded cloves, which are very little inferior to thoſe that come from the Moluccas; and every thing ſeems to promiſe that the nutmeg tree will thrive as well. But nothing great can be undertaken without a capital; and, indeed, without a conſiderable one.

This capital is in the hands of a rich company, which hath been formed, but without any excluſive privilege for this part of the world. This aſſociation, the original funds of which conſiſt of 2,400,000 livres [100,000l.] hath obtained from government the vaſt ſpace which extends from the river Aprouage to the Oyapock; and every encouragement which could reaſonably be granted them, to fertilize this ſoil, which is conſidered as the beſt of Guiana. Till their ſucceſs ſhall enable them to employ themſelves in

draining the moraſſes, and in cultures of importance; this powerful aſſociation have turned their views towards the felling of wood, the multiplication of cattle, and the cultivation of cotton, and of cacao, but principally of tobacco.

Some ſlaves have for a long time cultivated, for their own uſe, round their huts, this laſt mentioned plant. It hath the ſame properties as the tobacco of the Brazils, which ſells to advantage in all the European markets, and which is abſolutely requiſite for the purchaſe of negroes, upon a great part of the coaſts of Africa. If this undertaking ſhould ſucceed, the wants of France will be diminiſhed, and its navigators will not be obliged to go to Liſbon for that part of their cargo. The expectations ariſing from St. Lucia are founded upon a different baſis.

*The poſſeſſion of St. Lucia, for a long time diſputed, is at laſt ceded to the French.*

The Engliſh took poſſeſſion of this iſland, without oppoſition, in the beginning of the year 1639. They lived there peaceably for a year and a half, when a ſhip of their own nation, which had been overtaken by a calm off Dominica, carried off ſome Caribs, who were come in their canoes to bring them fruit. This violence occaſioned the ſavages of St. Vincent and Martinico to join the offended ſavages; and in Auguſt 1640, they all attacked the new colony. In their fury, they maſſacred every one that oppoſed them. The few who eſcaped their vengeance, quitted, for ever, a ſettlement that was only in its infant ſtate.

In the firſt ages of the world, before civil ſocieties were formed and poliſhed, all men in general had a common right to every thing upon earth. Every one was free to take what he choſe for his own uſe, and even to conſume it, if it were of a periſhable nature. The uſe that was thus made of a common right, ſupplied the place of property. As ſoon as any one had in this manner taken poſſeſſion of any thing, it could not be taken from him by another without injuſtice. It was in this point of view, which can only be applied to the primitive ſtate of nature, that the European nations conſidered America when it was firſt diſcovered. They paid no regard to the natives, and imagined they were ſufficiently authoriſed to ſeize upon any country, if no other nation of our hemiſphere were in poſſeſſion of

it. Such was conſtantly and uniformly the only public right obſerved in the New World, and which men have not ſcrupled to avow, and attempt to juſtify, in this century during the late hoſtilities.

Is not then the nature of property the ſame everywhere; is it not everywhere founded upon poſſeſſion acquired by labour, and upon a long and peaceable enjoyment? Europeans, can you then inform us, at what diſtance from your reſidence the ſacred title becomes aboliſhed? Is it at the diſtance of a few ſteps, of one league, or of ten leagues? You will anſwer in the negative; in which caſe it cannot poſſibly be even at the diſtance of ten thouſand leagues. Do you not perceive, that while you arrogate to yourſelves this imaginary right over a diſtant people, you confer it at the ſame time to thoſe diſtant people over yourſelves? Nevertheleſs, would you ſay, if it were poſſible that the ſavages ſhould enter upon your country, and reaſoning in the ſame manner as you do, ſhould ſay, this land is not inhabited by our own people, and therefore it belongs to us. You hold the ſyſtem of Hobbes in abhorrence among your neighbouring country; and yet this fatal ſyſtem, which makes of ſtrength the ſupreme law, you practiſe it at a diſtance. After having been thieves and aſſaſſins, nothing remained to complete your character, but that you ſhould become, as you really are, a ſet of execrable ſophiſts.

According to theſe principles, which muſt always be reprobated by juſt and upright men, St. Lucia was to belong to any power that could or would people it. The French attempted it firſt. They ſent over forty inhabitants in 1650, under the conduct of Rouſſeban, a brave, active, prudent, man, and ſingularly beloved by the natives, on account of his having married one of their women. His death, which happened four years after, put a ſtop to the general good he had begun to effect. Three of his ſucceſſors were murdered by the Caribs, who were diſſatisfied with their behaviour to them; and the colony was declining when it was taken in 1664 by the Engliſh, who evacuated it in 1666.

They had ſcarce left it, when the French appeared again on the iſland. Whatever was the cauſe, they had not greatly increaſed their number, when the enemy, that had before driven them out, again forced them to quit their

habitations twenty years after. Some, instead of evacuating the island, took refuge in the woods. As soon as the conquerors, who had made only a temporary invasion, were gone, they resumed their labours only for a short time. The war, which soon after raged in Europe, made them apprehensive that they might fall a prey to the first privateer that should be desirous of plundering them; with a view, therefore, of obtaining greater tranquillity, they removed to other French settlements, which were either stronger, or might expect to be better defended. There was then no regular culture or colony in St. Lucia. It was only frequented by the inhabitants of Martinico, who came hither to cut wood and to build canoes, and who had considerable docks in the island.

Some soldiers and sailors having deserted thither after the peace of Utrecht, Marshal d'Estrees petitioned for a grant of the island. No sooner was it obtained in 1718, than he sent over a commandant, troops, cannon, and inhabitants. This gave umbrage to the court of London, which had a kind of claim to this island from prior settlement, as that of Versailles had from almost uninterrupted possession. Their complaints determined the French ministry to order that things should be put into the same condition they were in before the grant. Whether this compliance did not appear sufficient to the English, or whether it gave them room to think they might attempt any thing, they themselves gave St. Lucia, in 1722, to the duke of Montagus, who was sent to take possession of it. This clashing of interests occasioned some disturbances between the two courts; which was settled, however, by an agreement made in 1731, that, till the respective claims should be finally adjusted, the island should be evacuated by both nations; but that both should have the liberty to wood and water there.

This agreement did not prevent the French from fixing there again a commandant, a garrison, and batteries. The court of London were either not informed of this breach of faith, or they overlooked it, because this channel was useful to their navigators, to assist them in carrying on with richer colonies a smuggling trade, which the subjects of both governments thought equally advantageous to them. This trade has been more or less considerable till the treaty

of 1763, which ſecured to France the long and obſtinately conteſted property of St. Lucia.

*First tranſactions of the French at St. Lucia.*

THE firſt uſe which the court of Verſailles propoſed to make of their acquiſition, was to eſtabliſh a magazine there. Since their windward iſlands had cut down their foreſts, extended their cultures, and loſt the reſources they uſed to derive from Canada and from Louiſiana, it had been impoſſible for them to do without the woods and cattle of North America. It was thought great inconveniencies would attend the direct admiſſion of theſe foreign aſſiſtances; and St. Lucia was fixed upon as a very proper place for the exchange of theſe commodities againſt the molaſſes of Martinico and Guadaloupe. Experience ſoon ſhewed that this ſcheme was impracticable.

In order that this arrangement might be carried into execution, it would be neceſſary that the Americans ſhould either depoſit their cargoes in ſtorehouſes, keep them on-board, or ſell them to traders ſettled on the iſland; three things equally impoſſible.

Theſe ſailors will never conſent to land their cattle, as the expences they would incur for having them taken care of, for their food, or to ſecure them from accidents, would infallibly ruin them. Neither will they pay for warehouſes for their wood, which is too cheap and too bulky a commodity to be worth the charge of ſtore-room. They will never wait on-board their ſhips for diſtant purchaſers who might not arrive, nor will they ever meet with intermediate purchaſers, whoſe profits would neceſſarily abſorb ſo much, that it would be impoſſible to employ them.

The proprietors of molaſſes have the ſame reaſons to diſlike this mart. The carriage, the leakage, and commiſſion, would reduce their commodities to nothing. If the Engliſh ſhould determine to pay a higher price for the molaſſes, they muſt conſequently raiſe that of their own merchandize; and after this advance, the conſumer would not purchaſe them.

The French miniſtry, undeceived as to their firſt notion, without entirely giving it up, attended, ſince 1763, to the formation of cultures in St. Lucia. This plan was a prudent one, but it was not executed in a proper manner.

Had the governor and the intendant of Martinico, from which this iſland is no more than ſeven leagues diſtant, been intruſted with this buſineſs, the coloniſts, who would have been ſent there, would have obtained the ſuccours which can be furniſhed with eaſe, by a ſettlement that hath exiſted more than a century. Precipitation, a paſſion for novelty, the deſire of providing for friends or favourites, and other motives perhaps ſtill more blameable, made the government prefer the ſending of an independent adminiſtration, who were to have no connections but with the mother country. This erroneous ſyſtem coſt the treaſury 7,000,000 of livres [291,666l. 13s. 4d.] and to the ſtate ſeven or eight hundred men, whoſe unhappy fate is more a matter of pity than ſurpriſe. Under the tropics, the beſt eſtabliſhed colonies always deſtroy one third of the ſoldiers that are ſent thither, though they are healthy ſtout men, and find good accommodations. It is not ſurpriſing then, that a ſet of miſerable wretches, the refuſe of Europe, and expoſed to all the hardſhips of indigence and all the horrors of deſpair, ſhould moſt of them periſh in an uncultivated and uninhabited iſland.

The advantage of peopling this colony was reſerved to the neighbouring ſettlements. Some Frenchmen, who had ſold, upon very profitable terms, their plantations at the Granades to the Engliſh, brought part of their capital to St. Lucia. Several planters from St. Vincents, incenſed at being obliged to buy lands which they themſelves had been at an incredible pains to clear and fertilize, took the ſame ſtep. Martinico alſo furniſhed ſome inhabitants, whoſe poſſeſſions were either not ſufficiently fertile, or too much confined, and merchants who have withdrawn part of their ſtock from trade in order to devote it to huſbandry. Lands have been gratuitouſly diſtributed to all of them.

*Opinion that may be formed of St. Lucia.*

This would have been but a fatal preſent, if the prejudice which prevailed againſt St. Lucia had had any foundation. It was ſaid, that nature had refuſed it every advantage neceſſary to form a colony of any importance. In the opinion of the public, its dry, uneven, and ſtony, ſoil, could never pay the expences of manuring. The inclemency of the climate would infallibly deſtroy every man, who, from a ſtrong deſire of enriching himſelf,

or who driven by deſpair, ſhould be bold enough to go there. Theſe notions were generally received.

The fact is, that the ſoil of St. Lucia is not bad on the borders of the ſea, and that it becomes better the further one advances in the country. The whole of the iſland may be cultivated, except ſome high and craggy mountains, which bear evident marks of ancient volcanoes. In one deep valley there are ſtill eight or ten hollow places of ſome feet in diameter, where the water boils up in a moſt dreadful manner. There are not indeed many extenſive plains in the iſland, but ſeveral ſmall ones, where ſugar may be cultivated with ſucceſs. The ſhape of the iſland, which is long and narrow, will make the carriage eaſy wherever the canes are planted.

The air in the inland parts of St. Lucia, is the ſame as it was in all the other iſlands before they were inhabited; foul and unwholeſome at firſt, but leſs noxious, as the woods are cleared, and the ground laid open. The air, on ſome part of the ſea-coaſt, is more unhealthy. On the leeward ſide the lands receive ſome ſmall rivers, which ſpringing from the foot of the mountains, have not a ſlope ſufficient to waſh down the ſands with which the influx of the ocean chokes up their mouths. Stopped by this inſurmountable barrier, they ſpread themſelves into unwholeſome moraſſes upon the neighbouring grounds. So obvious a reaſon had been ſufficient to drive away the few Caribs who were upon the iſland when it was firſt diſcovered. The French, driven into the New World by a more powerful motive than even ſelf-preſervation, have been leſs careful than the ſavages. It is upon this very ſpot that they chiefly fixed their plantations. Several of them have been puniſhed for their rapaciouſneſs. Others will be ſo hereafter, unleſs they conſtruct dikes and dig channels to drain off the waters. Government hath already ſet the example of this in the principal part of the iſland; ſome citizens have followed it, and it is to be imagined, that ſo uſeful a practice will in time become general.

*Preſent ſtate of the colony of St. Lucia.*

THERE are already eleven pariſhes in the colony, almoſt all of them to leeward. This preference given to one part of the iſland, is not for the ſake of a better ſoil, but for the conveniency of the ſhipping. In time that

part that was neglected at firſt, will likewiſe be inhabited, as bays are continually diſcovered, in which canoes may put in and receive all kinds of commodities on-board.

A road which goes all round the iſland, and two others that croſs it from eaſt to weſt, are very convenient for carrying the produce of the plantations to the landing places. In proceſs of time, and with ſome expence, theſe roads will be brought to a much greater degree of perfection than it was poſſible they ſhould be at firſt, without running into expences too burthenſome for a ſettlement in an infant ſtate. The labours of vaſſalage required for making the roads, have unavoidably retarded the culture of the lands, and excited great complaints; but the coloniſts now begin to bleſs the wiſe and ſteady hand that has ordered and conducted this work for their benefit. Their burthen hath been in ſome degree alleviated in latter times, by the attention which the directors have had to apply to theſe labours the taxes required to procure an exemption from them.

On the firſt of January 1777, the number of white people at St. Lucia amounted to two thouſand three hundred ſouls, men, women, and children.

There were fifty thouſand blacks, or free mulattoes. The cattle conſiſted of eleven hundred and thirty mules, or horſes; two thouſand and fifty-three head of horned cattle, and three thouſand ſeven hundred and nineteen ſheep, or goats.

There were fifty-three ſugar plantations, which occupied fifteen hundred and forty-one pieces of land; five millions forty thouſand nine hundred and ſixty-two coffee trees; one million nine hundred and forty-five thouſand ſeven hundred and twelve cacao plants; and five hundred and ninety-ſeven plots of cotton.

Theſe united productions were ſold in the iſland for little leſs than 3,000,000 of livres [125,000l.] Two thirds of them were delivered to the Americans, to the Engliſh, and to the Dutch, who were allowed a free trade with the colony. The remainder was carried to Martinico, upon which this iſland was dependent, and from whence it received ſome merchandize and ſome liquors, brought from the mother country.

The character and abilities of the earl of Ennery, the founder of this colony, authorifed us to affirm, that when St. Lucia, which is about forty leagues in circumference,

hath attained the degree of cultivation it is capable of, it may employ fifty or ſixty thouſand ſlaves, and yield to the value of nine or ten millions [from 375,000l. to 416,666l. 13s. 4d.] in commodities. This great teſtimony hath been confirmed ſince by other directors. By what fatality is it, that this ſettlement hath acquired ſo ſmall a degree of improvement, notwithſtanding all the encouragements, which it hath received?

*Obſtacles that have prevented the progreſs of St. Lucia.*

THE reaſon of this is, that from the beginning properties were precipitately given to vagabonds, who had neither the habit of labour nor the means for cultivation: it is becauſe an immenſe territory was granted to greedy ſpeculators, who were only able to cultivate a few acres: it is becauſe the inland parts were diſtributed before the borders had been cleared: it is becauſe the ants, which ſo cruelly infeſted Martinico, have conveyed the ſame ravages in the riſing ſugar plantations of St. Lucia: it is becauſe coffee hath experienced there the ſame diminution in value as everywhere elſe: in a word, it is becauſe the adminiſtration hath been neither ſufficiently regular, nor ſufficiently continued, nor ſufficiently enlightened. What remedy can be employed againſt ſo many errors, againſt ſo many calamities?

It will be neceſſary to eſtabliſh a more firm ſyſtem of government, a more ſtrict police. It will be neceſſary to deprive of their territory thoſe who have not at leaſt partly fulfilled the engagement they had contracted, of rendering it uſeful. It will be neceſſary, by modes of union prudently contrived, to bring together, as much as poſſible, ſome of the plantations that are ſeparated by diſtances, which deprive their owners of the will, of the inclination, and of the facility, of aſſiſting each other. It will be neceſſary legally to compel all debtors to pay proper attention to their creditors, with whom it had been cuſtomary to ſport. It will be neceſſary, by a long ſeries of years, and by authentic acts, to ſecure to the traders of all nations a free intercourſe with this iſland. Matters ought indeed to be carried ſtill further.

The French of the mother country cannot, and thoſe of the iſlands will not, cultivate St. Lucia. Many foreigners, on the contrary, have offered to convey their induſtry and

their capitals there, if the barbarous right of eſcheat were ſuppreſſed; a right which impedes reciprocal commerce of nations; which repels the living man, and ſpoils the dead one; which diſinherits the child of the foreigner; which obliges him to leave his wealth in his own country; and which prohibits him from obtaining elſewhere any acquiſition of perſonal or real eſtate: a right which a people who have the leaſt idea of good policy will aboliſh among themſelves, and the extinction of which they will carefully abſtain from ſoliciting in other countries. It is to be hoped that the court of Verſailles will no longer perſiſt in rejecting the only method of raiſing an intereſting colony from that languid ſtate into which it hath been plunged by calamities which it was impoſſible to avert, and by the vices of a bad adminiſtration.

*Meaſures to be purſued by France for the ſecurity of St. Lucia.*

When the proper ſteps have been taken to render St. Lucia flouriſhing, the French miniſtry may purſue the ſyſtem which they ſeem to have adopted, of defending their colonies by fortreſſes. To keep poſſeſſion of this iſland, it will be ſufficient to defend the Carenage harbour.

This harbour, which is the beſt in the Antilles, unites many advantages. It hath a great deal of water everywhere, with an excellent bottom. Nature hath provided it with three complete careening places, one for the largeſt ſhips, and the two others for frigates. Thirty ſhips of the line might ride ſafely there, and be ſheltered from the moſt terrible hurricanes. They have never yet been injured by the worms. The winds are always favourable for ſailing out, and the largeſt ſquadron would be cleared out in leſs than an hour.

So favourable a ſituation is capable of defending not only all the national poſſeſſions, but alſo of threatening thoſe of the enemy throughout America. The naval forces of England cannot cover all parts. The ſmalleſt ſquadron ſent out from St. Lucia would in a few days invade thoſe colonies which, being leaſt expoſed, would think themſelves quite ſecure. The only way to prevent this danger, would be to block up the Carenage; and even then, the purport of ſo expenſive and tireſome a cruiſe might be defeated by

a man who ſhould be bold enough to undertake any enterpriſe that can be effected at ſea.

This harbour, which is ſubject to the inconvenience of expoſing every ſhip that comes within view to be taken, has never appeared worthy the attention of the Britiſh nation, though too powerful and too enlightened not to conſider, that ſhips are to protect the roads, and not the roads the ſhips. With regard to France, this harbour affords the greateſt maritime defence, that is to ſay, a poſition that will not allow a ſhip under ſail to enter. She muſt be warped for a conſiderable ſpace before ſhe can get into it. There is no plying to windward between the two points. The ſoundings increaſing ſuddenly near the land from twenty-five to a hundred fathom, will not permit the aſſailants to come to an anchor. Only one ſhip can come in at a time, and ſhe would be expoſed to the fire of three maſked batteries in front and on both ſides.

A ſhip that would attack the harbour would be under the neceſſity of landing at Shoque bay, a ſhore a league long, which is only parted from the Carenage by the point called Vigie, which forms this bay. If the enemy were once maſters of the Vigie, they would ſink every ſhip in the harbour, or at leaſt compel them to bring to, and that without any loſs on their ſide; becauſe this peninſula, though commanded by a citadel built on the other ſide of harbour, would cover the aſſailants by its own back. It would only have occaſion for mortars, and neither fire a ſingle gun, nor endanger the life of one man.

If the ſhutting up of the entrance of the harbour againſt the enemy were ſufficient, it would be needleſs to fortify the Vigie. The enemy might be kept out without this precaution; but the ſhips of the French muſt be protected. It is neceſſary that a ſmall ſquadron ſhould be able to ſet the Engliſh forces at defiance; compel them to block up the place; take advantage of their abſence, or of ſome error they might fall into; all which cannot be effected without fortifying the top of the peninſula. It muſt be conſidered, that by thus multiplying the points of defence, a greater number of men will be wanted; but if there be any ſhips in the harbour, their ſailors and gunners may be employed in defending the Vigie, which they would do with the greater alacrity, as on this would depend the ſafe-

ty of the ſquadron. If there be no veſſels in the harbour, the Vigie will be abandoned, or ill defended, and that for the following reaſon.

On the other ſide of the harbour there is an eminence, called *Morne Fortuné*. The flat on the top offers one of thoſe favourable ſituations, that are ſeldom to be met with for erecting a citadel, which would require almoſt as great a force to attack it as the beſt fortified place in Europe. This fortification, the plan of which is already laid, and will certainly one day be carried into execution, will have the advantage of defending the Carenage bay on all ſides, of commanding all the eminences that ſurround it, and of making it impoſſible for the enemy to enter; of ſecuring the town which is to be built on the back of the mountain; in ſhort, of hindering the aſſailants from penetrating into the iſland, even if they had actually landed at Shoque bay, and made themſelves maſters of the Vigie. Further diſcuſſions on the means of preſerving St. Lucia muſt be left to the profeſſors of the military art.

It is not, in truth, a motive of vanity that hath engaged us in the diſcuſſion of this matter, which is ſo contrary to our profeſſion, and which implies ſo many ſtudies to which we are ſtrangers, and ſo long an experience in thoſe who follow it. But zeal, the deſire of doing good, and the ſpirit of patriotiſm, direct the thoughts of the man and of the citizen upon every object. His heart grows warm; he reflects; and if he thinks he has not diſcovered what is right to be done, he muſt ſpeak, becauſe his ſilence would be reproachful to himſelf. "If my ideas be juſt," ſaith he to himſelf, "perhaps government may avail themſelves of "them; if they be erroneous, the worſt that can happen "will be, that I ſhall excite a ſmile, and that I ſhall be "called the good man, a name which the venerable abbé "of St. Pierre took ſo much pride in. I would rather run "the riſk of being ridiculous, than loſe the opportunity of "being uſeful." Whether this duty be well fulfilled or not, let us fix the attention of the reader on Martinico.

*The French ſettle at Martinico, upon the ruins of the Caribs.*

THIS iſland hath ſixteen leagues in length, and forty-five in circumference, excluſive of the capes, which ſometimes extend two or three leagues into

the ſea. It is very uneven, and interſected in all parts by a number of hillocs, which are moſtly of a conical form. Three mountains riſe above theſe ſmaller eminences. The higheſt bears the indelible marks of an ancient volcano. The woods with which it is covered, continually attract the clouds, which occaſions noxious damps, and contributes to make it horrid and inacceſſible, while the two others are in moſt parts cultivated. From theſe mountains, but chiefly from the firſt, iſſue the many ſprings that water the iſland. Theſe waters, which flow in gentle ſtreams, are changed into torrents on the ſlighteſt ſtorm. Their quality partakes of the nature of the ſoil they paſs through; in ſome places they are excellent, in others ſo bad, that the inhabitants are obliged to drink the water they have collected in the rainy ſeaſon.

Denambuc, who had ſent to reconnoitre Martinico, ſailed from St. Chriſtophers in 1635, to ſettle his nation there; for he would not have it peopled from Europe. He foreſaw that men, tired with the fatigue of a long voyage, would moſtly periſh ſoon after their arrival, either from the effects of a new climate, or from the hardſhips incident to moſt emigrations. The ſole founders of this new colony were a hundred men, who had long lived in this government of St. Chriſtophers. They were brave, active, inured to labour and fatigues; ſkilful in tilling the ground and erecting habitations; abundantly provided with potatoe plants, and all neceſſary ſeeds.

They completed their firſt ſettlement without any difficulty. The natives, intimidated by the fire-arms, or ſeduced by the promiſes that were made them, gave up to the French the weſtern and ſouthern parts of the iſland, and retired to the other. This tranquillity was of ſhort duration. The Caribs, when they ſaw theſe enterpriſing ſtrangers daily increaſing, were convinced that their ruin was inevitable, unleſs they could extirpate them; and they therefore called in the ſavages of the neighbouring iſlands to their aſſiſtance. They fell jointly upon a little fort that had been accidentally erected; but they met with ſuch a warm reception, that they thought proper to retreat, leaving ſeven or eight hundred of their beſt warriors dead upon the ſpot. After this check they diſappeared for a long while; and when they returned, they brought with them preſents, and ex-

preſſed their concern for what had happened. They were received in a friendly manner; and the reconciliation was ſealed with ſome bottles of brandy that were given them to drink.

The labours had been carried on with difficulty till this period. The fear of a ſurpriſe obliged the coloniſts of three different habitations to meet every night in that which was in the centre, and which was always kept in a ſtate of defence. There they ſlept ſecure, guarded by their dogs and a centinel. In the day-time no one ventured out without his gun, and a brace of piſtols at his girdle. Theſe precautions were needleſs when the two nations came to be on friendly terms; but the one, whoſe friendſhip and favour had been courted, took ſuch undue advantages of her ſuperiority, to extend her uſurpations, that ſhe ſoon rekindled in the others a hatred that had never entirely ſubſided. The ſavages, whoſe manner of life requires a vaſt extent of land, finding themſelves daily more ſtraitened, had recourſe to ſtratagem, to weaken an enemy whom they dared not attack by force. They ſeparated into ſmall bands, waylaid the French, who frequented the woods, waited till the ſportſman had fired his piece, and, before he had time to load it again, ruſhed upon him and deſtroyed him. Twenty men had been thus deſtroyed before any one was able to account for their diſappearance. As ſoon as this particular was diſcovered, the aggreſſors were purſued and beaten, their carbets burnt, their wives and children maſſacred, and thoſe few that eſcaped the carnage, fled from Martinico, and never appeared there again.

*Firſt labours of the French in Martinico.*

THE French, by this retreat now become ſole maſters of the iſland, lived quietly upon thoſe ſpots which beſt ſuited their plantations. They were then divided into two claſſes. The firſt conſiſted of ſuch as had paid their paſſage to America; and theſe were called inhabitants. The government diſtributed lands to them, which became their abſolute property upon paying a yearly tribute. They were obliged to keep watch by turns, and to contribute, in proportion to their abilities, towards the neceſſary expences for the public welfare and ſafety. Theſe had under their command a multitude of miſerable people

brought over from Europe at their expence, whom they called *engages*, or bondſmen. This engagement was a kind of ſlavery for the term of three years. When that time was expired, the bondſmen, by recovering their liberty, became the equals of thoſe whom they had ſerved.

They all confined themſelves at firſt to the cultivation of tobacco and cotton; to which was ſoon added that of the arnotto and indigo. That of ſugar was not begun till about the year 1650. Benjamin Dacoſta, one of thoſe Jews who are beholden for their induſtry to that very oppreſſion which their nation is now fallen under, after having exerciſed it upon others, planted ſome cocoa trees ten years after. His example was not followed till 1684, when the chocolate grew more common in France. Cocoa then became the principal dependence of the coloniſts, who had not a ſufficient fund to undertake ſugar plantations. One of thoſe calamities which ariſe from the ſeaſons, and which ſometimes affect men, and ſometimes vegetables, deſtroyed all the cocoa trees in 1727. This ſpread a general conſternation among the inhabitants of Martinico. The coffee tree was then propoſed to them, as a plank is held out to mariners after a ſhipwreck.

The French miniſtry had received, as a preſent from the Dutch, two of theſe trees, which were carefully preſerved in the king's botanical garden. Two ſhoots were taken from theſe. Mr. Deſclieux, who was intruſted to carry them over to Martinico, in 1726, happened to be on-board a ſhip which wanted water. He ſhared with his young trees the portion that was allotted him for his own drinking; and by this generous ſacrifice ſaved half of the valuable truſt that had been put into his hands. His magnanimity was rewarded. The culture of coffee was attended with the greateſt and moſt rapid ſucceſs; and this virtuous patriot enjoyed, till the end of 1774, the pleaſing ſatisfaction, the uncommon felicity, of having as it were ſaved an important colony, and enriched it with a freſh branch of induſtry.

Independent of this reſource, Martinico was poſſeſſed of thoſe natural advantages which ſeemed to promiſe a ſpeedy and great proſperity. Of all the French ſettlements, it is the moſt happily ſituated with regard to the winds that prevail in thoſe ſeas. Its harbours poſſeſs the ineſtimable

advantage of affording a certain ſhelter from the hurricanes which annoy theſe latitudes. Its ſituation having made it the ſeat of government, it has obtained the greateſt marks of favour, and enjoyed the ableſt and moſt upright adminiſtration of them all. The enemy has conſtantly reſpected the valour of its inhabitants, and has ſeldom attacked it, without having cauſe to repent. Its domeſtic peace has never been diſturbed, not even in 1717, when, urged by a general diſcontent, the inhabitants ventured, boldly indeed, but prudently, to ſend back to France a governor and an intendant, who oppreſſed the people under their deſpotiſm and rapaciouſneſs. The order, tranquillity, and harmony, which they found means to preſerve in thoſe times of anarchy, were a proof that they were influenced rather by their averſion from tyranny, than by their impatience of authority; and ſerved in ſome meaſure to juſtify to the mother country, a ſtep, which in itſelf might be conſidered as irregular, and contrary to the eſtabliſhed principles.

Notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, Martinico, though in greater forwardneſs than the other French colonies, had made but little progreſs at the end of the laſt century. In 1700, it contained but 6,597 white men in all. The ſavages, mulattoes, and free negroes, men, women, and children, amounted to no more than 307. The number of ſlaves was but 14,566. All theſe together made a population of 21,640 perſons. The whole of the cattle was 3,668 horſes or mules, and 9,217 head of horned cattle. They grew a great quantity of cocoa, tobacco, and cotton, and had nine indigo houſes, and one hundred and eighty-three ſmall ſugar plantations.

*Proſperity of Martinico. Cauſe of it.*

On the ceſſation of the long and obſtinate wars, which had ravaged all the continents, and been carried on upon all the ſeas of the world, and when France had relinquiſhed her projects of conqueſts and thoſe principles of adminiſtration by which ſhe had been ſo long miſled; Martinico emerged from that feeble ſtate in which all theſe calamities had kept her, and ſoon roſe to a great degree of proſperity. She became the general mart for all the windward national ſettlements. It was in her ports that the

neighbouring islands sold their produce, and bought the commodities of the mother country. The French navigators loaded and unloaded their ships nowhere else. Martinico was famous all over Europe. She was the object of speculation, considered under the different views of a planter, an agent to the other colonies, and a trader with Spanish and North America.

As a planter, it employed, in 1736, seventy-two thousand slaves, upon a soil, great part of which was newly cleared, and which constantly yielded very abundant crops.

The connections of Martinico with the other islands intitled her to the profits of commission, and the charges of transport, as she alone was in possession of carriages. This profit might be rated at the tenth of the produce, which was increasing daily. This standing debt, seldom called in, was left them for the improvement of their plantations. It was increased by advances in money, slaves, and other necessary articles. Martinico, thus becoming more and more a creditor to the other islands, kept them in constant dependence, but without injuring them. They all enriched themselves by her assistance, and their profit was beneficial to her.

Her connections with cape Breton, with Canada, and with Louisiana, procured her a market for her ordinary sugars, her inferior coffee, her molasses, and rum, which would not sell in France. They gave her, in exchange, salt fish, dried vegetables, deals, and some flour.

In her clandestine trade on the coasts of Spanish America, consisting wholly of goods manufactured by the nation, she was well paid for the risks which the French merchants did not choose to run. This traffic, less important than the former as to its object, was much more lucrative in its effects. It commonly brought in a profit of fourscore or ninety per cent. upon the value of three or four millions of livres [from 125,000l. to 166,666l. 13s. 4d.] yearly sent to the Caraccas, or the neighbouring colonies.

So many prosperous transactions had brought immense sums into Martinico. Twelve millions of livres [500,000l.] were constantly circulated there with amazing rapidity. This is, perhaps, the only country in the world where the specie has been so considerable, as to make it a matter of

indifference to them whether they dealt in gold or ſilver, or in commodities.

Her extenſive trade annually brought into her ports two hundred ſhips from France, fourteen or fifteen fitted out by the mother country for the coaſt of Guinea, thirty from Canada, ten or twelve from the iſlands of Margaretta and Trinidad; beſide the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips that come to carry on a ſmuggling trade. The private navigation from the iſland to the northern colonies, to the Spaniſh continent, and to the Windward iſlands, employed a hundred and thirty veſſels, from twenty to ſeventy tons burthen, manned with ſix hundred European ſailors of all nations, and fifteen hundred ſlaves long inured to the ſea ſervice.

*Manner in which the trade is carried on in Martinico.*

At firſt, the ſhips that frequented Martinico uſed to land in thoſe parts where the plantations lay. This practice, ſeemingly the moſt natural, was liable to great inconveniences. The north and north eaſterly winds which blow upon part of the coaſts, keep the ſea in a conſtant and violent agitation. Though there are many good roads, they are either at a conſiderable diſtance from each other, or from moſt of the habitations. The ſloops, deſtined to coaſt along this interval, were frequently forced by the weather to anchor, or to take in but half their lading. Theſe difficulties retarded the loading and unloading of the ſhip; and the conſequence of theſe delays was, a great loſs of men, and an increaſe of expence to the buyer and ſeller.

Commerce, which muſt always reckon among its greateſt advantages that of procuring a quick return, could not but be impeded by another inconvenience, which was the neceſſity the trader lay under, even in the beſt latitudes, of diſpoſing of his cargo in ſmall parcels. If ſome induſtrious man undertook to ſave him that trouble, this enhanced the price of the goods to the coloniſts. The merchant's profit is to be rated in proportion to the quantity he ſells. The more he ſells, the more is he able to abate of the profit which another muſt make who ſells leſs.

A greater inconvenience than either of theſe was, that ſome places was overſtocked with ſome ſorts of European

goods, while others were in want of them. The owners of the ſhips were equally at a loſs to take in a proper lading. Moſt places did not afford all ſorts of commodities, nor every ſpecies of the ſame commodity. This deficiency obliged them to touch at ſeveral places, or to carry away too great or too ſmall a quantity of what was fit for the port where they were to unload.

The ſhips themſelves were expoſed to ſeveral difficulties. Many of them wanted careening, and moſt required at leaſt ſome repair. The proper aſſiſtance on theſe occaſions was not to be found in the roads that were but little frequented, where workmen did not chooſe to ſettle, for fear of not getting ſufficient employment. They were therefore obliged to go and refit in ſome particular harbours, and then return to take in their lading at the place where they had made their ſale. Theſe different expeditions took up at leaſt three or four months.

Theſe and many more inconveniences made it very deſirable to ſome of the inhabitants, and to all the navigators, to eſtabliſh a magazine, where the colonies and the mother country might ſend their reſpective articles of exchange. Nature ſeemed to point out Fort Royal as a fit place for this purpoſe. Its harbour was one of the beſt in all the Windward iſlands, and ſo celebrated for its ſafety, that, when it was opened to the Dutch veſſels, they had orders from the republic to ſhelter there in June, July, and Auguſt, from the hurricanes which are ſo frequent and ſo violent in thoſe latitudes. The lands of the Lamentin are diſtant but a league, and are the moſt fertile and richeſt of all the colony. The numerous rivers which water this fruitful country, convey loaded canoes to a certain diſtance from the place where they empty into the ſea. The protection of the fortifications ſecured the peaceable enjoyment of ſo many advantages; which, however, were balanced by a ſwampy and unwholeſome ſoil. This capital of Martinico was alſo the aſylum of the men of war; which branch of the navy at that time deſpiſed, and even oppreſſed, the merchantmen. On this account, Fort Royal was an improper place to become the centre of trade, which was therefore turned to St. Peters.

This little town, which, notwithſtanding the fires that have reduced it four times to aſhes, ſtill contains eighteen

hundred houſes, is ſituated on the weſtern coaſt of the iſland, in a bay or inlet which is almoſt circular. One part of it is built on the ſtrand along the ſea-ſide; which is called the Anchorage; and is the place deſtined for the ſhips and warehouſes. The other part of the town ſtands upon a low hill: it is called the Fort, from a ſmall fortification that was built there in 1665, to check the ſeditions of the inhabitants againſt the tyranny of monopoly; but it now ſerves to protect the road from foreign enemies. Theſe two parts of the town are ſeparated by a rivulet, or fordable river.

The anchorage is at the back of a pretty high and perpendicular hill. Shut up, as it were, by this hill, which intercepts the eaſterly winds, the moſt conſtant and moſt ſalubrious in theſe parts; expoſed, without any refreſhing breezes, to the ſcorching beams of the ſun, reflected from the hill, from the ſea, and the black ſand on the beach; this place is extremely hot, and always unwholeſome. Beſides, there is no harbour; and the ſhips, which cannot winter ſafely upon this coaſt, are obliged to take ſhelter at Fort Royal. But theſe diſadvantages are compenſated by the conveniency of the road of St. Peters, for loading and unloading of goods; and by its ſituation, which is ſuch, that ſhips can freely go in and out at all times, and with all winds.

This village was the firſt that was built, and the firſt that was cultivated on the iſland. It hath not been, however, ſo much on account of its antiquity as of its convenience, that it enjoys the advantage of having become the centre of communication between the colony and the mother country. At firſt, St. Peters was the ſtorehouſe for the commodities of ſome diſtricts, which lay along ſuch dreary and tempeſtuous coaſts, that no ſhip could ever get at them; ſo that the inhabitants could carry on no trade without removing elſewhere. The agents for theſe coloniſts in thoſe early times, were only the maſters of ſmall veſſels, who having made themſelves known, by continually ſailing about the iſland, were enticed, by the proſpect of gain, to fix upon a ſettled place for their reſidence. Honeſty was the only ſupport of this intercourſe: moſt of theſe agents could not read. None of them kept any books or journals. They had a trunk, in which they kept

a ſeparate bag for each perſon, whoſe buſineſs they tranſacted. Into this bag they put the produce of the ſales, and took out what money they wanted for the purchaſes. When the bag was empty, the commiſſion was at an end. This confidence, which muſt appear fabulous in our days of degeneracy and diſhoneſty, was yet common at the beginning of this century. There are ſome perſons ſtill living, who have carried on this trade, where the employer had no other ſecurity for the fidelity of his agent, but the benefit reſulting from it.

Theſe plain men were ſucceſſively replaced by more enlightened perſons from Europe. Some had gone over to the colony, when it was taken out of the hands of the excluſive companies. Their number increaſed as the commodities multiplied; and they themſelves contributed greatly to the extending of the plantations by the loans they advanced to the planters; whoſe labours had, till then, gone on but ſlowly for want of ſuch help. This conduct made them the neceſſary agents for their debtors in the colony, as they were already for their employers at home. Even the coloniſt, who owed them nothing, was in ſome meaſure dependent on them, as he might poſſibly hereafter ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance. If his crop ſhould fail, or be retarded, a plantation of ſugar-canes be ſet on fire, or a mill blown down; if his buildings ſhould fall, mortality carry off his cattle or his ſlaves; or if every thing ſhould be deſtroyed by drought or heavy rains; where could he find the means of ſupporting himſelf during theſe calamities, or of repairing the loſs occaſioned by them? Theſe means are in twenty different hands. If only one refuſes his aſſiſtance, the diſtreſs muſt neceſſarily increaſe. Theſe conſiderations induced ſuch as had not yet borrowed money, to truſt the agents of St. Peters with their concerns, in order to ſecure a reſource in times of diſtreſs.

The few rich inhabitants, whoſe fortunes ſeemed to place them above theſe wants, were in ſome degree compelled to apply to this factory. The trading captains, finding a port where they might with advantage complete their buſineſs, without ſtirring out of their warehouſes, or even of their ſhips, forſook Fort Royal, Trinity Fort, and all the other places where an arbitrary price was put upon the commodities, and where the payments were ſlow and

uncertain. By this revolution, the coloniſts, being confined to their works, which require a conſtant and daily attendance, could no longer go out to diſpoſe of their produce. They were therefore obliged to intruſt it to able men, who, being ſettled at the only frequented ſea-port, were ready to ſeize the moſt favourable opportunities for buying and ſelling; an ineſtimable advantage this, in a country where trade is continually fluctuating. Guadaloupe and Granada followed this example, induced by the ſame motives.

The war of 1744 put a ſtop to this proſperity; not that the fault was in Martinico itſelf. Its navy, conſtantly exerciſed, and accuſtomed to frequent engagements, which the carrying on of a contraband trade required, was prepared for action. In leſs than ſix months, forty privateers, fitted out at St. Peters, ſpread themſelves about the latitudes of the Caribbee iſlands. They ſignalized themſelves in a manner worthy of the ancient freebooters. They were conſtantly returning in triumph, and laden with an immenſe booty. Yet, in the midſt of theſe ſucceſſes, an entire ſtop was put to the navigation of the colony, both to the Spaniſh coaſt and to Canada, and they were conſtantly diſturbed even on their own coaſts. The few ſhips that came from France, in order to compenſate the hazards they were expoſed to by the loſs of their commodities, ſold them at a very advanced price, and bought them at a very low one. By this means the produce decreaſed in value, the lands were but ill cultivated, the works neglected, and the ſlaves periſhing for want. Every thing was in a declining ſtate, and tending to decay. The peace at laſt reſtored the freedom of trade, and with it the hopes of recovering the ancient proſperity of the iſland. The event did not anſwer the pains that were taken to attain it.

*Decline of Martinico, and the cauſe of it.*

Two years had not yet elapſed ſince the ceſſation of hoſtilities, when the colony loſt the contraband trade ſhe carried on with the American Spaniards. This revolution was not owing to the vigilance of the guarda coſtas. As it is more the intereſt of the traders to ſet them at defiance, than theirs to defend themſelves; the former are apt to deſpiſe men who are ill paid to protect

ſuch rights, or inforce ſuch prohibitions as are oftentimes unjuſt. The ſubſtitution of regiſter ſhips to the fleets was the cauſe that confined the attempts of the ſmugglers within very narrow limits. In the new ſyſtem, the number of ſhips was undetermined, and the time of their arrival uncertain, which occaſioned a variation in the price of commodities unknown before. From that time the ſmuggler, who only engaged in this trade from the certainty of a fixed and conſtant profit, would no longer purſue it, when it did not ſecure him an equivalent to the riſks he ran.

But this loſs was not ſo ſenſibly felt by the colony, as the hardſhips brought upon them by the mother country. An unſkilful adminiſtration clogged the reciprocal and neceſſary connection between the iſlands and North America with ſo many formalities, that in 1755 Martinico ſent but four veſſels to Canada. The direction of the colony, now committed to the care of avaricious and ignorant clerks, ſoon loſt its importance, ſunk into contempt, and was proſtituted to venality.

In the meanwhile the trade of France was not yet affected by the decay of Martinico. The French found traders in the road of St. Peters, who purchaſed their cargoes at a good price, and ſent their ſhips home with expedition, and richly laden; and they never inquired from what particular colony the conſumption and produce aroſe. Even the negroes who were carried there were ſold at a high price; but few remained. The greateſt part were ſent to the Granades, to Guadaloupe, and even to the neutral iſlands, which, notwithſtanding the unlimited freedom they enjoyed, preferred the ſlaves brought by the French to thoſe the Engliſh offered, though apparently on better terms. They were convinced, from long experience, that the choſen negroes, who coſt the moſt, enriched their lands, while the plantations did not flouriſh in the hands of the negroes bought at a lower price. But theſe profits of the mother country were foreign and rather hurtful to Martinico.

She had not yet repaired her loſſes during the peace, nor paid off the debts which a ſeries of calamities had obliged her to contract; when war, the greateſt of all evils, broke out afreſh. A ſeries of misfortunes for France, after re-

peated defeats and losses, made Martinico fall into the hands of the English. It was restored in July 1763, sixteen months after it had been conquered; but deprived of all the necessary means of prosperity, that had made it of so much importance. For some years past, the contraband trade carried on to the Spanish coasts was almost entirely lost. The cession of Canada and of Louisiana had precluded all hopes of opening again a communication, which had only been interrupted by temporary mistakes. The productions of the Granades, St. Vincent, and Dominica, which were now become British dominions, could no longer be brought into their harbours; and a new regulation of the mother country, which forbade her having any intercourse with Gaudaloupe, left her no hopes from that quarter.

The colony, thus destitute, could depend upon nothing but its cultures; unfortunately, at the period when its inhabitants began to attend to them with advantage, there appeared in the island a species of ant unknown in America, before it had exercised such ravages in Barbadoes, that it was deliberated, whether it would not be proper to abandon a colony formerly so flourishing. It is not known whether this insect was transferred to Martinico from the continent, or from this island. It is however certain, that it occasioned inexpressible ravages in all the sugar plantations in the island where it appeared. This calamity, which had been too ineffectually resisted, had lasted for eleven years, when the colonists assembled on the 9th of March 1775, announced a reward of 666,000 livres [27,750l.] for the person who should find a remedy against these destructive scourges. This important secret hath been already discovered and practised by an officer named Desvouse, upon one of the plantations the most infested with ants. This excellent cultivator had obtained plentiful crops by multiplying the labours, the manure, and the weedings, by burning the straw in which this insect concealed itself, by replanting the sugar-canes after every crop, and by disposing them in such a manner as to facilitate the circulation of the air. This example hath at length been followed by the rich colonists; others will imitate it in proportion to their means; and it is to be hoped that in process of time, the recollection only will remain of this great disaster.

This calamity was raging in its greateſt force, when the hurricane of 1766, the moſt furious of thoſe which had ravaged Martinico, deſtroyed the proviſions and the harveſts, rooted up the trees, and even overthrew the buildings. The deſtruction was ſo general, that ſcarce a few inhabitants remained able to adminiſter comfort to ſo many unfortunate people, and to relieve ſo many miſeries

The high price to which for ſome time coffee had riſen, aſſiſted them in ſupporting theſe misfortunes. This production, which had been too much cultivated, fell into diſgrace, and the planters preſerved only the regret of having devoted their lands to a commodity, the value of which was no more ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence.

To complete theſe misfortunes, the mother country ſuffered the colony to be in want of the perſons neceſſary for the labours of it; for from the year 1764 to 1774 the trade of France did not introduce into Martinico more than three hundred and forty-five ſlaves, one year with another. The inhabitants were reduced to the neceſſity of renewing their men from the refuſe of the Engliſh cargoes clandeſtinely introduced.

An enlightened miniſter, whoſe watchful care would have extended itſelf to all parts of the empire, would have alleviated the fate of a great ſettlement ſo cruelly afflicted, but this was not the caſe. New offices eſtabliſhed on the colony were ſubſtituted to thoſe ſuccours it had a right to expect.

In the French ſettlements in the New World, and undoubtedly in thoſe of other nations likewiſe, the Africans grew extremely depraved; and this was, becauſe they were certain of impunity. Their maſters, ſeduced by a blind motive of intereſt, never brought the criminals to juſtice. In order to put a ſtop to this great miſchief, the black code regulated that the price of every ſlave who ſhould be condemned to death, after information lodged againſt him with the magiſtrate by the proprietor, ſhould be paid for by the colony.

Collections were immediately made for this uſeful purpoſe; but part of them was ſoon employed in expences foreign to their inſtitution. That of Martinico was ſtill more oppreſſed than the others with theſe acts of injuſtice; when in 1771 it was burthened with the expences incurred

by the chamber of agriculture belonging to the colony, and with the salary of a deputy, which its council keeps to no purpose in the mother country.

Oppression was carried still further. The duties which the government collected at Martinico, were originally very trifling, and were paid in provisions, which were changed into metals, when these universal agents of commerce were multiplied in the island. Nevertheless, the impost was moderate till 1763, when it was raised to eight hundred thousand livres [33,333l. 6s. 8d.] Three years after, it became necessary to lower it, but this diminution, extorted by the calamities of the times, was put a stop to in 1762. The tribute was lowered again in 1778, to the sum of 666,000 livres [27,750l.] which is equal to a million [41,666l. 13s. 4d.] in the islands. It is paid by a poll-tax upon the white people and upon the negroes, by a tax of five per cent. on the rent of houses, by a duty of one per cent. on all heavy merchandize which enters the colony, and an equal duty upon all provisions that are exported from it, except coffee, which pays three per cent.

*Present state of Martinico.*

On the first of January 1778, the population of Martinico consisted of twelve thousand white people of all ages and of both sexes; three thousand free negroes or mulattoes, and upwards of fourscore thousand slaves, though its calculations did not amount to more than seventy-two thousand.

Its cattle consisted of eight thousand two hundred mules or horses; nine thousand seven hundred head of horned cattle, and thirteen thousand one hundred hogs, sheep, or goats.

Its sugar plantations amounted to two hundred and fifty-seven, which occupied ten thousand three hundred and ninety-seven squares of land. It cultivated sixteen millions six hundred two thousand eight hundred and seventy coffee plants; one million four hundred thirty thousand and twenty cacao plants; and one million six hundred forty-eight thousand five hundred and fifty cotton plants.

In 1775, the French navigators loaded at Martinico one hundred and twenty-two vessels, with two hundred and forty-four thousand four hundred and thirty-eight quintals fifty-eight pounds of clayed or raw sugar, which were sold

in the mother country for 9,971,155 livres 3 ſols 7 deniers [about 415,465l. 16s.] with ninety-ſix thouſand eight hundred and eighty-nine quintals ſixty-eight pounds of coffee, which were ſold for 4,577,259 livres 16 ſols [190,719l. 3s. 2d.] eleven hundred and forty-ſeven quintals eight pounds of indigo, which were ſold for 975,018 livres [40,625l. 15s.] eight thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-ſix quintals ſixty-three pounds of cacao, which were ſold for 605,964 livres 12 ſols [25,248l. 10s. 6d.] eleven thouſand and twelve quintals of cotton, which were ſold for 2,753,100 livres [114,712l. 10s.] nine hundred and nineteen hides, which were ſold for 8,271 livres [344l. 12s. 6d.] twenty-nine quintals ten pounds of rope-yarn, which were ſold for 29,100 livres [1,212l. 10s.] nineteen hundred ſixty-ſix quintals thirty-five pounds of black caſſia, which were ſold for 52,980 livres 10 ſols [2,207l. 10s.] one hundred and twenty-five quintals of wood, which were ſold for 3,125 livres [130l. 4s. 2d.] The total amount of theſe articles was 18,975,974 livres 1 ſol 7 deniers [about 790,665l. 11s. 9d.] but this ſum did not entirely belong to the colony; a little more than a quarter of it belonged to St. Lucia and Guadaloupe, which had ſent part of their productions to Martinico.

*Hath Martinico any proſpect of improving?*

All thoſe who from inſtinct or duty are concerned for the intereſt of their country, would wiſh to ſee the productions multiplied at Martinico. It is well known, indeed; that the centre of the iſland, full of horrid rocks, is unfit for the culture of ſugar, coffee, or cotton; that too much moiſture would be hurtful to theſe productions; and that, ſhould they ſucceed, the charges of carriage acroſs mountains and precipices would abſorb the profits of the crops. But in this large ſpace meadows would turn to very good account. The ſoil is excellent for paſture; and only wants the attention of government to furniſh the inhabitants with the neceſſary increaſe of cattle both for labour and food. There are other ſpots on the iſland where the ſoil is ungrateful: craggy territories, which have been levelled by the torrents and the rains; ſwampy grounds, which it would be difficult, and perhaps impoſſible, to dry up; and ſtony lands, which cannot be fertil-

lized by any kind of labour. The obſervers, however, who are the moſt acquainted with the colony, unanimouſly agree, that theſe cultures are capable of being increaſed nearly by one third, and that even this improvement might be brought about by a better and more ſteady method of cultivation, without any further clearing of lands. But in order to attain to this improvement, a greater number of ſlaves would be required. It is a conſiderable thing that the inhabitants have been able to preſerve, till our time, their works in the ſame ſtate as they had received them from their anceſtors. We do not think that it will be in their power to increaſe them.

The proprietors of the lands at Martinico may be divided into four claſſes. The firſt are poſſeſſed of a hundred large ſugar plantations, in which twelve thouſand negroes are employed. The ſecond have one hundred and fifty, worked by nine thouſand blacks. The third claſs poſſeſs thirty-ſix, with two thouſand blacks. The fourth, devoted to the culture of coffee, cotton, cocoa, and caſſava, may employ twelve thouſand negroes. The remaining ſlaves of both ſexes are engaged in domeſtic ſervices, in fiſhing, or in navigation; they are children or infirm perſons.

The firſt claſs conſiſts entirely of rich people. Their culture is carried to the higheſt degree of perfection, and they are able to preſerve it in the flouriſhing ſtate to which they have brought it. Even the expences they muſt be at for replacing deficiencies, are not ſo great as thoſe of the leſs wealthy planter, as the ſlaves born upon theſe plantations ſupply the place of thoſe deſtroyed by time and labour.

The ſecond claſs, which is that of planters in eaſy circumſtances, have but half the hands that would be neceſſary to acquire a fortune equal to that of the opulent proprietors. If they were even able to buy the number of ſlaves they want, they would be deterred from it by fatal experience. Nothing can be more imprudent than the cuſtom of putting a great number of freſh negroes upon a plantation. The ſickneſs thoſe miſerable wretches are liable to, from a change of climate and diet; the trouble of inuring them to a kind of labour to which they are not accuſtomed, and which they diſlike, cannot but diſguſt a planter, from the conſtant and laborious attention he muſt pay to

this training up of men for the cultivation of land. The moſt active proprietor is he, who is able to increaſe his works by one fixth of the number of ſlaves every year. Thus the ſecond claſs might acquire fifteen hundred blacks yearly, if the nett produce of their lands would admit of it. But they muſt not expect to meet with credit. The merchants in France do not ſeem diſpoſed to truſt them; and thoſe who circulated their ſtock in the colony, no ſooner found that they could not make uſe of it without running conſiderable riſks, than they removed it to Europe, or to St. Domingo.

The third claſs, which are but little removed from indigence, cannot change their ſituation by any means which the natural courſe of trade can ſupply. It is a matter of difficulty for them to be able to ſubſiſt. The indulgence of government can alone put them into ſuch a flouriſhing condition as to render them uſeful to the ſtate, by lending them, without intereſt, the ſums they may want, to raiſe their plantations. This claſs might employ a greater number of freſh negroes than we have allotted to the ſecond, without the ſame inconveniencies; becauſe each planter, having fewer ſlaves to look after, will be able to pay a greater attention to thoſe he may purchaſe.

The fourth claſs, who are employed in cultures of leſs importance than that of ſugar, do not ſtand in need of ſuch powerful helps, to recover that eaſe and plenty from which they are fallen by war, hurricanes, and other misfortunes. Could theſe two laſt claſſes but make an acquiſition of fifteen hundred ſlaves every year, it would be ſufficient to raiſe them to that degree of proſperity to which their induſtry naturally intitles them.

Thus Martinico might hope to revive her declining plantations, and to recover the firſt ſplendour to which her diligence had raiſed her, if ſhe could get a yearly acceſſion of three thouſand negroes. But it is well known that ſhe is not in a condition to pay for theſe recruits. She owes the mother country, for balance of trade, about a million [41,666l. 13s. 4d.] A ſeries of misfortunes has obliged her to borrow four millions [166,666l. 13s. 4d.] of the merchants ſettled in the town of St. Peter. The engagements ſhe has entered into on account of divided inheritances, and thoſe ſhe has contracted for the purchaſe of a

number of plantations, have made her insolvent. This desperate state will neither allow her the means of soon recovering her former situation, nor the ambition of pursuing that road to fortune which once lay open to her.

*Whether Martinico can be conquered?*

And to this, that she stands exposed to invasion. But though there are a number of places where the enemy may land, yet they will never make the attempt. It would indeed be fruitless, because of the impossibility of bringing up the artillery and ammunition, across such a rugged country, to Fort Royal, which defends the whole colony. It is in this latitude only that the enemy would sail, in order to make such an attempt.

In the front of this strong and principal place of defence is a famous harbour, situated on the side of a broad bay, that cannot be entered without many tackings, which must decide the fate of any ship that is forced to avoid an engagement. If she happens to be unrigged, or is a bad sailer, or meets with some accident from the variations of the squalls of wind, the currents, or whirlpools, she will fall into the hands of an assailant that is a better sailer. The garrison of the fortress itself may become a useless and inglorious spectator of the defeat of a whole squadron, as it has been often of the taking of merchant ships.

The inside of the harbour is much injured, on account of the hulks of several ships that have been sunk there, to keep out the English in the last war. These vessels have been taken up again; but it will still require a considerable expence to remove the heaps of sand which had gathered about them, and to put the harbour in the same state it was before. This work will not admit of any delay; for the port, though not very spacious, is the only one where ships of all rates can winter; the only one where they can be supplied with masts, sails, cables, and excellent water, which is brought there from the distance of a league by a very well contrived canal, and which may be easily procured.

An enemy will always land near to this harbour, and there is no possibility of preventing them, whatever precaution be taken. The war could only be carried on against them in the field; it could not be continued for any time,

and the people would ſoon be reduced to ſhut themſelves up in their fortifications.

They formerly had no other fortification than Fort Royal, where immenſe ſums had been buried through want of ſkill under a ridge of mountains. All the knowledge of the ableſt engineers has never been ſufficient to give any degree of ſtrength or ſolidity to works occaſionally erected by the moſt unſkilful hands, and without any ſort of plan. They have been obliged to content themſelves with adding a covered way, a rampart, and flanks, to ſuch parts of the place as would admit of them. But the work of the moſt conſequence has been to cut into the rock, which eaſily gives way; and to dig ſubterraneous rooms, which are airy, wholeſome, and fit to ſecure warlike ſtores and proviſions; as alſo to ſhelter the ſick, and to defend the ſoldiers, and ſuch of the inhabitants whoſe attachment to their country would inſpire them with courage to defend the colony. It has been thought, that men who were ſure of finding a ſafe retreat in theſe caverns, after having expoſed their lives on the ramparts, would ſoon forget their fatigues, and face the enemy with freſh vigour. This idea was fortunate and ſenſible, and muſt have been ſuggeſted, if not by a patriotic government, at leaſt by ſome ſenſible and humane miniſter.

But the bravery this muſt inſpire could not be ſufficient to preſerve a place, which is commanded on all ſides. It was therefore thought adviſable to fix upon ſome more advantageous ſituation; and the point called *Morne Garnier* was choſen for this purpoſe, which is higher by thirty-five or forty feet than the higheſt tops of Patate, Tortenſon, and Cartouch, all which overlook Fort Royal.

Upon this eminence a citadel has been raiſed, conſiſting of four baſtions. The baſtions in front, the covered way, the reſervoirs for water, the powder magazines; all theſe means of defence are ready. The cazernes, and other neceſſary buildings, will ſoon complete the work. If even the redoubts and the batteries, intend to force the enemy to make their deſcent at a greater diſtance than Caſco bay, where they landed at the laſt invaſion, ſhould not be attended with the effect that is expected from them; yet ſtill the colony would be able to reſiſt about three months. Fifteen hundred men will defend the *Morne Garnier* for

thirty or six-and-thirty days against an army of fifteen thousand; and twelve hundred men will sustain themselves for twenty or five-and-twenty days in Fort Royal, which cannot be attacked till *Garnier* has been taken. This is all that can be expected from an expence of ten millions of livres [416,666l. 13s. 4d.]

Those who are of opinion that the navy alone ought to protect the colonies, think that so considerable an expence hath been misapplied. As it was not possible, in their opinion, to erect fortifications and to build ships at the same time, the preference ought to have been given to the latter, as being indispensably necessary; especially if the impetuosity in the character of the French disposes them to attack rather than to defend, they ought sooner to destroy than erect fortresses; or none but ships should be built, those moveable ramparts which carry war with them, instead of waiting for it. Any power that aims at trade, and the establishment of colonies, must have ships, which bring in men and wealth, and increase population and circulation; whereas bastions and soldiers are only fit to consume men and provisions. All that the court of Versailles can expect from the expence they have incurred at Martinico, is, that if the island should be attacked by the only enemy it has to fear, there will be time enough to relieve it. The English proceed slowly in a siege; they always go on by rule, and nothing diverts them from completing any works that concern the safety of the assailants; for they esteem the life of a soldier of more consequence than the loss of time. This maxim, so sensible in itself, is, perhaps, misapplied in the destructive climate of America; but it is the maxim of a people, whose soldiers are engaged in the service of the state, not mercenaries paid by the prince. But whatever be the future fate of Martinico, it is now time to inquire into the present state of Guadaloupe.

*The French invade Guadaloupe.* THIS island, which is of an irregular form, may be about eighty leagues in circumference. It is divided into two parts by a small arm of the sea, which is not above two leagues long, and from fifteen to forty toises broad. This

canal, known by the name of the Salt river, is navigable, but will only carry Indian boats.

That part of the iſland which gives its name to the whole colony, is, towards the centre, full of craggy rocks, and ſo cold, that nothing will grow there but fern, and ſome uſeleſs ſhrubs covered with moſs. On the top of theſe rocks, a mountain called *La Souphriere*, or the Brimſtone mountain, riſes to an immenſe height into the middle region of the air. It exhales, through various openings, a thick black ſmoke, intermixed with ſparks that are viſible by night. From all theſe hills flow numberleſs ſprings, which fertilize the plains below, and moderate the burning heat of the climate by a refreſhing ſtream, ſo celebrated, that the galleons, which formerly uſed to touch at the Windward iſlands, had orders to renew their proviſion with this pure and ſalubrious water. Such is that part of the iſland properly called Guadaloupe. That which is commonly called Grande Terre, has not been ſo much favoured by nature. The ſoil is not ſo fertile, or the climate ſo wholeſome or ſo pleaſant. It is, indeed, leſs rugged; but it wants ſprings and rivers. There are even no ſprings to be found there. Aqueducts, which would not be very expenſive, would undoubtedly, in proceſs of time, enable it to enjoy this advantage in common with the other part of the colony.

No European nation had yet taken poſſeſſion of this iſland, when five hundred and fifty Frenchmen, led on by two gentlemen named Loline and Dupleſſis, arrived there from Dieppe on the 28th of June 1635. They had been very imprudent in their preparations. Their proviſions were ſo ill choſen, that they were ſpoiled in the paſſage; and they had ſhipped ſo few, that they were exhauſted in two months. They were ſupplied with none from the mother country. St. Chriſtophers, whether from ſcarcity or deſign, refuſed to ſpare them any; and the firſt attempts in huſbandry they made in the country, could not yet afford any thing. No reſource was left for the colony but from the ſavages; but the ſuperfluities of a people who cultivate but little, and therefore had never laid up any ſtores, could not be very conſiderable. The new comers, not content with what the ſavages might freely and voluntarily bring,

came to a reſolution to plunder them; and hoſtilities commenced on the 16th of January 1636.

The Caribs, not thinking themſelves in a condition openly to reſiſt an enemy who had ſo much the advantage from the ſuperiority of their arms, deſtroyed their own proviſions and plantations, and retired to Grande Terre, or to the neighbouring iſlands. From thence the moſt deſperate came over to the iſland from which they had been driven, and concealed themſelves in the thickeſt parts of the foreſts. In the day time they ſhot with their poiſoned arrows, or knocked down with their clubs, all the French who were ſcattered about for hunting or fiſhing. In the night, they burned the dwellings, and deſtroyed the plantations, of their unjuſt ſpoilers.

A dreadful famine was the conſequence of this kind of war. The coloniſts were reduced to graze in the fields, to eat their own excrements, and to dig up dead bodies for their ſubſiſtence. Many who had been ſlaves at Algiers, held in abhorrence the hands that had broken their fetters; and all of them curſed their exiſtence. It was in this manner that they atoned for the crime of their invaſion, till the government of Aubert brought about a peace with the ſavages at the end of the year 1640. When we conſider the injuſtice of the hoſtilities which the Europeans have committed all over America, we are almoſt tempted to rejoice at their misfortunes, and at all the judgments that purſue thoſe inhuman oppreſſors. We are ready, from motives of humanity, to renounce the ties that bind us to the inhabitants of our own hemiſphere, to change our connections, and to contract beyond the ſeas, with the ſavage Indians, an alliance which unites all mankind, that of misfortune and compaſſion.

*Gaudaloupe flouriſhes after being conquered by England.*

The remembrance, however, of hardſhips endured in an invaded iſland, proved a powerful incitement to the cultivation of all articles of immediate neceſſity; which afterwards induced an attention to thoſe of luxury conſumed in the mother country. The few inhabitants who had eſcaped the calamities they had drawn upon themſelves, were ſoon joined by ſome diſcontented coloniſts from St. Chriſtophers, by Europeans fond

of novelty, by ſailors tired of navigation, and by ſome ſea-captains, who prudently choſe to commit to the care of a grateful ſoil the treaſures they had ſaved from the dangers of the ſea. But ſtill the proſperity of Guaduloupe was ſtopped, or impeded, by obſtacles ariſing from its ſituation.

The facility with which the pirates from the neighbouring iſlands could carry off their cattle, their ſlaves, their very crops, frequently brought them into a very deſperate ſituation. Inteſtine broils, ariſing from jealouſies of authority, often diſturbed the quiet of the planters. The adventurers who went over to the Windward iſlands, diſdaining a land that was fitter for agriculture than for naval expeditions, were eaſily attracted to Martinico, by the convenient roads it abounds with. The protection of thoſe intrepid pirates, brought to that iſland all the traders who flattered themſelves that they might buy up the ſpoils of the enemy at a low price, and all the planters who thought they might ſafely give themſelves up to peaceful labours. This quick population could not fail of introducing the civil and military government of the Caribbee iſlands into Martinico. From that time, the French miniſtry attended more ſeriouſly to this than to the other colonies, which were not ſo immediately under their direction; and, hearing chiefly of this iſland, they turned all their encouragements into that channel.

In was in conſequence of this preference, that in 1700 the number of inhabitants in Guadaloupe amounted only to 3,825 white people; 325 ſavages, free negroes, or mulattoes; and 6,725 ſlaves, many of whom were Caribs. Her cultures were reduced to 60 ſmall plantations of ſugar, 66 of indigo, a little cocoa, and a conſiderable quantity of cotton. The cattle amounted to 1,620 horſes and mules, and 3,699 head of horned cattle. This was the fruit of ſixty years labour.

The colony did not make any rapid progreſs till after the peace of Utrecht. Its population conſiſted of 9,643 white men; 41,140 ſlaves; and its cattle and proviſions were proportioned to it, when, in the month of April 1759, it was conquered by the arms of Great Britain.

France lamented this loſs; but the colony had reaſon to comfort themſelves for this diſgrace. During a ſiege of

three months they had ſeen their plantations deſtroyed, the buildings that ſerved to carry on their works burnt down, and ſome of their ſlaves carried off. Had the enemy been forced to retreat after all theſe devaſtations, the iſland was ruined. Deprived of all aſſiſtance from the mother country, which was not able to ſend her any ſuccours, and expecting nothing from the Dutch, who on account of their neutrality came into her roads, becauſe ſhe had nothing to offer them in exchange, ſhe could never have ſubſiſted till the enſuing harveſt.

The conquerors delivered the coloniſts from theſe apprehenſions. The Engliſh, indeed, are no merchants in their colonies. The proprietors of lands, who moſtly reſide in Europe, ſend their repreſentatives whatever they want, and draw the whole produce of the eſtate by the return of their ſhip. An agent ſettled in ſome ſea-port of Great Britain, is intruſted with the furniſhing of the plantation, and with receiving the produce. This was impracticable at Guadaloupe; and the conquerors in this reſpect were obliged to adopt the cuſtom of the conquered. The Engliſh, informed of the advantage the French made of their trade with the colonies, haſtened, in imitation of them, to ſend their ſhips to the conquered iſland; and ſo multiplied their expeditions, that they overſtocked the market, and ſank the price of all European commodities. The coloniſt bought them at a very low price, and, in conſequence of this plenty, obtained long delays for the payment.

To this credit, which was neceſſary, was ſoon added another ariſing from ſpeculation, which enabled the colony to fulfil its engagements.

The victorious nation ſent there eighteen thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-one ſlaves, in the expectation of reaping in time great advantages from their labour. But their ambition was fruſtrated, and the colony was reſtored to its former poſſeſſors in July 1763.

*Various ſyſtems adopted by the miniſtry of France, in the government of Guadaloupe.*

THE flouriſhing ſtate to which Guadaloupe had been raiſed by the Engliſh, was remarked by all the world, when they reſtored it. It acquired that degree of conſideration, which opulence always inſpires at preſent. The mother

country beheld it with a kind of reſpect. Till that time it had been ſubordinate to Martinico, as were all the French windward iſlands. The iſland was releaſed from theſe ſhackles, which it conſidered as a diſgrace, by giving it an independent adminiſtration. This arrangement laſted till 1768, at which period it was again ſubjected to the former yoke, from which it was releaſed in 1772, and placed under it again ſix months after. In 1775, a governor of its own was again granted to it; and, it is to be hoped, that after ſo many variations, the court of Verſailles will no more depart from this arrangement, the only one which is conformable to the principles of an enlightened policy. Should adminiſtration ever ſwerve from this fortunate plan, the governors and the intendants would again beſtow their care, their credit, and their regard, upon the metropolitan iſland immediately under their inſpection, while the dependent iſland would be abandoned to ſubalterns, without influence or without conſideration, and conſequently without the power or the will of doing any thing uſeful.

The military men, who have been of opinion that the two colonies ſhould be united under one governor, have been led into it from conſidering the advantages that would ariſe from collecting the forces of both iſlands, for their mutual defence. But they have not reflected, that at an equal diſtance between Martinico and Guadaloupe, there is Dominica, an Engliſh ſettlement, which cannot be avoided, and which overlooks equally the double canal that divides it from the French poſſeſſions. Should the French naval forces be inferior to the Engliſh, the communication would be impracticable, becauſe the reſpective ſuccours would infallibly be intercepted; if, on the contrary, they ſhould be ſuperior, the communication would become uſeleſs, becauſe no invaſion could be apprehended. In either of theſe caſes, the ſyſtem propoſed is chimerical.

It would be very different, if it were neceſſary to carry on offenſive meaſures. The union of the powers belonging to each of theſe iſlands might become uſeful, and even neceſſary, under ſuch circumſtances. In that caſe, the command of the whole would be intruſted to one of the governors, and this command would ceaſe at the concluſion of the projected enterpriſe.

But is it proper to leave a free trade between the territorial productions of one colony and thoſe of the other? Till the conqueſt of Guadaloupe by the Engliſh, the immediate connections of that iſland with the ports of France had been limited to ſix or ſeven veſſels annually. Its proviſions, from motives more or leſs maturely conſidered, were moſtly ſent to Martinico. When, at the period of the reſtitution, the adminiſtration of the two colonies was ſeparated, their trade became likewiſe diſtinct. The communications have ſince been opened again, and are ſtill permitted at this preſent time.

This arrangement is cenſured by ſome people in France. It is neceſſary, ſay they with acrimony, that the colonies ſhould fulfil their deſtination, which is, to conſume a great quantity of merchandize from the mother country, and to ſend back a great abundance of productions. And yet, notwithſtanding her abilities to fulfil this double obligation, Guadaloupe will neither do the one nor the other, as long as ſhe ſhall be allowed to carry her commodities to Martinico. This intercourſe will always be the cauſe or the occaſion of an immenſe trade in foreign markets, and at Dominica in particular. This fraudulent trade can only be ſtopped, and the habit of ſmuggling eradicated, by prohibiting this communication.

Theſe arguments, which are founded upon motives of private intereſt, ought not to prevent the confirmation of the connections which Guadaloupe and Martinico have formed with each other. Liberty is the wiſh of all mankind; and every proprietor hath a natural right to ſell the productions of his ſoil to whom he chooſes, and to as much advantage as he can. This fundamental principle of all well regulated ſocieties hath been ſet aſide in favour of the mother country; and it was perhaps neceſſary in the preſent ſtate of affairs. But to be deſirous of extending farther the prohibitions to which the coloniſts are ſubjected; to wiſh to deprive them of the conveniences and advantages which they may derive from a laſting or a temporary communication with their own fellow citizens, is an act of tyranny which the merchants of France will one day be aſhamed of having ſolicited, and which will never be granted but by an ignorant, corrupt, or weak, miniſter. If, as it is pretended, the intercourſe permitted at preſent between

the two islands, should give part of their commodities to artful and rapacious rivals, government may find some fair means of introducing into the kingdom the territorial riches of Guadaloupe, and of the small islands which are under its dependence.

*Islands dependent upon Guadaloupe.*

Deseada, at the distance of four or five leagues from Guadaloupe, is one of these islands. Its territory is exceedingly barren, and is ten leagues in circumference. It reckons but few inhabitants, who are all employed in the culture of a few coffee and cotton trees. It is not known at what precise time this settlement was begun, but it is a modern one.

The Saints, three leagues distant from Guadaloupe, are two very small islands, which, with another yet smaller, form a triangle, and have a tolerable harbour. Thirty Frenchmen were sent thither in 1648, but were soon driven away by an excessive drought, which dried up their only spring, before they had time to make any reservoirs. A second attempt was made in 1652, and lasting plantations were established, which now yield fifty thousand weight of coffee, and one hundred thousand of cotton.

At the distance of six leagues from Guadaloupe is Marigalante, which hath fifteen leagues in circumference. The numerous savages by whom it was inhabited, were driven from it in 1648, by the French, who were obliged to sustain and repel several warm attacks, in order to maintain themselves in their usurpation. It hath an excellent soil, upon which a population hath successively been formed, of seven or eight hundred white people, and of six or seven thousand negroes, most of whom are employed in the culture of sugar.

St. Martin and St. Bartholomew are likewise dependent upon Guadaloupe, though at the distance of forty-five or fifty leagues from it. The former of these islands hath been spoken of in the history of the Dutch settlements. It remains to say something of the latter.

It is said to be eleven leagues in circumference. Its mountains are nothing but rocks, and its valleys nothing but sands, which are never watered by springs or by rivers, and much too seldom by the waters of the sky. It is even

deprived of a good harbour, although all geographers have bestowed this advantage upon it. In 1646, fifty Frenchmen were sent there from St. Christophers; they were massacred by the Caribs in 1656, and were replaced only three years after. The barrenness of the soil obliged them to have recourse to the Guyacum wood, which covered their new country, and of which they made some small works, that were in great request. This resource was soon exhausted, and it was succeeded by the care of a few cattle, which supplied the neighbouring islands. Soon after this, the culture of cotton was introduced; and the crop of this amounts to fifty or sixty thousand weight, when not checked by obstinate droughts, which are very frequent. Till these present times, the labours have all been carried on by white people; and it is still the only one of the European colonies established in the New World, where free men do not disdain to partake of the labours of agriculture with their slaves. The numbers of the latter do not exceed four hundred and twenty-seven, nor those of the former three hundred and forty-five. The island could not, without difficulty, maintain a greater number, even in the most prosperous times.

The wretchedness of the inhabitants is so well known, that the enemy's privateers, which frequently put in there, have always paid punctually for what few refreshments they could spare them, though the miserable inhabitants were too weak to compel them. There is then some humanity left even in the breast of enemies and pirates; man is not naturally cruel; and only becomes so from fear or interest. The armed pirate, who plunders a vessel richly laden, is not destitute of equity, nor even of compassion for a set of poor defenceless islanders.

*Present state of Guadaloupe, and of the small islands under its dependence.*

On the first of January 1777, the population of Guadaloupe, and of the islands more or less fertile, under its dependence, amounted to twelve thousand seven hundred white persons of all ages and of both sexes, thirteen hundred and fifty free negroes, or mulattoes, and a hundred thousand slaves; although, in the account of the colony,

there were only fourſcore and four thouſand one hundred mentioned.

Their cattle conſiſted of nine thouſand two hundred and twenty horſes or mules, fifteen thouſand ſeven hundred and forty head of horned cattle, and twenty-five thouſand four hundred ſheep, hogs, or goats.

Their cultures conſiſted only of four hundred and forty-nine thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-two cacao trees; eleven million nine hundred ſeventy-four thouſand and forty-ſix cotton plants; eighteen million ſeven hundred and ninety-nine thouſand ſix hundred and fourſcore coffee trees; and three hundred and eighty-eight ſugar plantations; which occupied twenty-ſix thouſand and eighty-eight ſquares of land.

Their government, taxes, and impoſts, were the ſame as at Martinico.

If theſe frequent calculations be diſguſting to the idle reader, it is hoped that they will not be ſo diſagreeable to political calculators; who, diſcovering, in the population and in the productions of the lands, the exact proportion of the ſtrength of the ſtate, will be the better enabled to compare the natural reſources of all nations.

It is only by a well regulated regiſter of ſuch a nature, that we can judge, with ſome degree of preciſion, of the preſent ſtate of the maritime and commercial powers that have ſettlements in the New World. The merit of the work, in this point, conſiſts in its accuracy; and ſome allowances ought, perhaps, to be made to the author, for the want of embelliſhments, in favour of the uſeful information which is ſubſtituted to them. There are eloquent deſcriptions, and ingenious repreſentations enough of diſtant countries, which ſerve to amuſe and to deceive the multitude. It is time to appreciate the truth, which reſults from the hiſtory of them, and to be informed, not ſo much of what they have been, as of what they are at preſent: for the hiſtory of what is paſſed, eſpecially from the manner in which it is written, is almoſt as much applicable to future ages, as to the preſent. Let me be allowed, therefore, once again to declare, that no man ſhould be ſurpriſed at the numerous repetitions of the quantity of negroes, of animals, of lands, and of productions; and at details, in a word, which, however dry and unentertaining they may be

to the mind, are nevertheleſs the natural foundations of ſociety.

Guadaloupe muſt obtain from its cultures, a very conſiderable maſs of productions, and more conſiderable even than Martinico. It hath a greater number of ſlaves; it employs leſs of them in its navigation and in its commerce; it hath placed a number of them upon a ſoil which is inferior to that of its rival, but great part of which being newly manured, yields more abundant crops than the grounds which are fatigued by a long continuance of tillage. Accordingly, it is evident, that ſuch of its plantations as are not devoured by ants, yield an income much ſuperior to that which is obtained at Martinico. Nevertheleſs, eighty-one veſſels of the mother country did not carry away, in 1775, from this iſland, more than one hundred and eighty-eight thouſand three hundred and eighty-ſix quintals ſix pounds of raw or clayed ſugar, which were ſold in Europe for 7,137,930 livres 16 ſols [297,413l. 15s. 8d.]; ſixty-three thouſand twenty-nine quintals and two pounds of coffee, which were ſold for 2,993,860 livres 19 ſols [124,744l. 4s. 1½d.]; fourteen hundred thirty-eight quintals and twenty-ſeven pounds of indigo, which were ſold for 1,222,529 livres 10 ſols [50,938l. 14s. 7d.]; one thouſand twenty-three quintals fifty-nine pounds of cacao, which were ſold for 71,651 livres 6 ſols [2,985l. 9s. 5d.]; five thouſand one hundred and ninety-three quintals ſeventy-three pounds of cotton, which were ſold for 1,298,437 livres 10 ſols [54,101l. 11s. 3d.]; ſeven hundred and twenty-ſeven hides, which were ſold for 6,973 livres [290l. 10s. 10d.]; ſixteen quintals and fifty-ſix pounds of rope yarn, which were ſold for 16,560 livres [690l.]; twelve quintals and ſixty-two pounds of black caſſia, which were ſold for 336 livres 15 ſols 10 deniers [about 14l. 8d.]; one hundred and twenty-five quintals of wood, which were ſold for 3,125 livres [130l. 4s. 2d.] Theſe ſums, collectively, amounted to no more than 12,751,404 livres 16 ſols 10 deniers [about 531,291l. 14s. ½d.]

Some of the productions of the colony were ſent to Martinico. Its molaſſes, and ſome other commodities, were bartered with the Americans, for wood, cattle, flour, and ſalt fiſh: its cottons were ſent to Dominico, from whence it received ſlaves; and its ſugars to St. Euſtatius, which

paid for them in ſpecie, or with bills of exchange, and with merchandize from the Eaſt-Indies.

The vigilance of its laſt directors hath put ſome ſtop to theſe ſmuggling connections, and the French veſſels intended for the exportation of theſe commodities, have immediately been multiplied. Many of them have been induced by habit to go to Guadaloupe, properly ſo called, and to St. Charles of the Baſſe Terre, where all the cargoes were formerly taken in, although it be but a foreign harbour, the acceſs of which is difficult, and in which it is dangerous to remain: but the greateſt number of them go to Pitre Point.

This is a deep and tolerably ſafe harbour, ſituated at one of the extremities of Grande Terre: it was diſcovered by the Engliſh at the time when they were in poſſeſſion of the colony; and they were employed in rendering it healthy, when they were deprived of this acquiſition by the peace. The court of Verſailles purſued this idea of an enlightened conqueror, and, without delay, had the plan of a town traced, which hath rapidly increaſed. Nature, the winds, the bearing of the coaſts, all ſeem to concur in concentrating in this ſtaple almoſt the whole trade of ſo beautiful a poſſeſſion. St. Charles can preſerve no more trade than it can be ſupplied with from the fine ſugars of the Three rivers collected, and from the coffees which are gathered in the diſtricts of the Bailiff, of Deſhays, of Buillante, and of Pointe Noire. This town will, however, continue to be the ſeat of government, ſince the forces of the colony, and the fortifications, are there.

If ſome obſervers are to be believed, the colony muſt expect to decline. That part of it which is called Guadaloupe, and hath been cultivated for a long time, is not ſuſceptible, ſay they, of much improvement. On the other hand, they affirm, that Grande Terre will not ſupport itſelf in the flouriſhing ſtate to which a fortunate hazard hath brought it. That vaſt ſpace, which was almoſt entirely covered with briars ſeventeen or eighteen years ago, and which furniſhes at preſent three fifths of the territorial riches, hath not a good ſoil. Its ſugars are of a very inferior quality; it is deſtitute of foreſts, of dews, and of rivers, and is expoſed to frequent droughts, which deſtroy its cattle and its productions; calamities which cannot but be increaſed by time.

We are very far from adopting these anxieties; and our readers may judge of the reasons we have for our security. The calamities of an unfortunate war had almost annihilated Guadaloupe. But scarce had it submitted to a foreign yoke, in 1759, than its planters hastened to restore the ruins of their manufactures, in order to profit by the high price which the conquerors put upon their productions. The three years subsequent to its restitution were employed in the restoration of the buildings, that had been constructed with precipitation. In the years 1767 and 1768, the roads of the colony were all mended, and an easy communication was opened between Guadaloupe and Grande Terre, by means of two causeways of three thousand toises each, which it was necessary to raise in the moraſses. Before and after this period, considerable fortifications, and more than one hundred batteries, were erected upon the coasts. These labours have deprived the lands, for a long while, of part of the hands destined to fertilize them. At present, that the slaves are all restored to their manufactures, is it not fortunately a necessary consequence, that the commodities should increase.

The colony hath still other reasons to expect a rapid advancement. It hath some territories which have not yet been manured; and those which are already cultivated are capable of improvement. Its debts are not considerable. With fewer wants than the settlements have, where opulence hath for a long time multiplied propensities and desires, it can bestow more upon the improvement of its cultures. The English islands will continue to furnish it with slaves, if the French navigators still limit themselves to convey to it annually no more than five or six hundred, as they have hitherto done. All these circumstances united, suggest the idea that Guadaloupe will soon rise of itself to the height of its prosperity, without the assistance, and notwithstanding the shackles, of government.

*Measures taken by France to preserve Guadaloupe from invasion.*

But can France be assured of enjoying a long and quiet possession of this island? If the enemy that might attack the colony, chose only to plunder the Grande Terre, and to carry off the slaves and cattle from thence, it would be impossible to

prevent this, or even to retaliate, unleſs an army were oppoſed to them. Fort Lewis, which defends this part of the ſettlement, is but a wretched ſtar-fort, incapable of much reſiſtance. All that could poſſibly be expected, would be to prevent the devaſtation from extending any further. The nature of the country preſents ſeveral ſituations, ſome more favourable than others, by which the progreſs of an aſſailant may be ſecurely ſtopped, whatever his courage or his forces may be. He would, therefore, be forced to re-embark and proceed to the attack of what is properly called Guadaloupe.

The landing of the enemy could be effected nowhere but at the bay of the Three rivers, and at that of the Bailiff; or rather theſe two places would be moſt favourable to the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe; becauſe they would bring him nearer than any other to Fort St. Charles of the Baſſe Terre, where he would have leſs difficulties to encounter.

Let the enemy chooſe whichever of theſe landings they prefer, they will find nothing more than a ſpot covered with trees, interſected with rivers, hollow ways, narrow paſſes, and ſteep aſcents, which they muſt march over expoſed to the French fire. When, by the ſuperiority of their forces, they have ſurmounted theſe difficulties, they will be ſtopped by the eminence of the great camp. This is a platform ſurrounded by nature with the river Galleon, and with dreadful ravines, to which art hath added parapets, barbettes, flanks, and embraſures, to direct the artillery in the moſt advantageous manner. This intrenchment, though formidable, muſt be forced. It is not to be imagined that an intelligent general would ever leave ſuch a poſt as this behind him; his convoys would be too much expoſed, and he would not get up what would be neceſſary for carrying on the ſiege of Fort St. Charles without much difficulty.

If thoſe who were firſt employed in fortifying Guadaloupe, had underſtood the art of war, or even been only engineers, they would not have failed chooſing the poſition between the river of the Great-bay and that of Galleon for erecting their fortifications. The place then would have had towards the ſea ſide a front, that would have incloſed a harbour capable of containing forty ſail of ſhips, which would have annoyed the enemy's fleet, without being themſelves in the

leaſt expoſed. The fronts towards the river Galleon and that of the Great bay would have been inacceſſible, being placed upon the ſummit of two very ſteep aſcents. The fourth front would have been the only place open to an attack; and it would have been an eaſy matter to ſtrengthen that as much as might have been thought proper.

By chooſing the preſent poſition of Fort St. Charles, the works, which were conſtructed there, ought at leaſt to have flanked each other from the ſea, and from the heights. But the principles of fortification were ſo much neglected, that the fire was pointed entirely in a wrong direction, that the internal works were in all parts open to the view, and that the revetments might be battered from the bottom.

Such was the condition of Fort St. Charles, when, in 1764, it was thought proper to put it in a ſtate of defence. Perhaps, it might have been beſt to deſtroy it totally, and to place the new fortifications on the poſition juſt pointed out. It was however thought neceſſary to cover the bad fort, conſtructed by unſkilful perſons, with out-works; adding two baſtions towards the ſea-ſide; a good covered-way, which goes all round, together with a glacis, partly cut and partly in a gentle ſlope; two large places of arms with re-entering angles, having each a good redoubt, and behind theſe, good tenailles, with caponieres and poſterns of communication with the body of the place; two redoubts, one on the prolongation of the capital of one of the two places of arms, and the other at the extremity of an excellent intrenchment made along the river Galleon, the platform of which is defended by the cannon from another intrenchment made on the top of the bank of the other ſide of the ſame river; large and deep ditches, a reſervoir for water, and a powder magazine, bomb proof; in a word, a ſufficient quantity of works under ground to lodge a third part of the garriſon. All theſe out-works, well contrived, being added to the fort, will enable an active and experienced commander to hold out a ſiege of two months, and perhaps more. But whatever may be the reſiſtance that Guadaloupe can oppoſe to the attacks of the enemy, it is time to paſs on to St. Domingo.

THIS iſland is one hundred and ſixty leagues in length; its main breadth is about thirty; and its circumference three hundred and fifty, or ſix hundred in coaſting round the ſeveral bays. It is parted lengthways, from eaſt to weſt, by a ridge of mountains, from which gold was extracted, before the continent of America had diſcloſed mines infinitely richer. *Short deſcription of the iſland of St. Dominga.*

The navigator who draws near to, or who approaches, the Spaniſh part of the iſland, perceives nothing but an irregular maſs of lands, heaped one upon another, covered with trees, and divided towards the ſeaſide by bays or promontories: but he is indemnified for this proſpect, which is none of the moſt agreeable, by the perfume of the flowers of acacia, and of the orange and lemon trees, which are conveyed to him every morning and evening, from the midſt of the woods, by the land breezes.

The French part of the coaſt, although cultivated, doth not exhibit a much more ſmiling aſpect. There is a fameneſs in all the horizon; the ſame accidents of nature, the ſame cultures, the ſame colours, and the ſame edifices, preſent themſelves on all ſides. The eye, fatigued, cannot fix itſelf on any ſpot, without meeting with the ſame object, and without ſeeing what it had ſeen before. There is only the northern part, which, being full of rich plantations, from the ſeaſide to the tops of the hills, exhibits a proſpect worthy of ſome attention. This is the only landſcape in the iſland; but it cannot be compared to thoſe in Europe, where nature and art abound much more in intereſting beauties.

The heats are always conſiderable in the plains. Although the temperature of the valleys depend partly upon their opening to the eaſt or to the weſt, it may be ſaid in general that the air, which is damp and freſh before and after ſunſet, is very hot in the courſe of the day. The difference of climate is indeed only to be felt upon the mountains; where the thermometer is at ſeventeen degrees in the ſhade, when, with the ſame expoſure, it riſes to twenty-five in the plain.

*Some French adventurers take refuge at St. Domingo.*

SPAIN was the ſole and uſeleſs proprietor of this large poſſeſſion, when ſome Engliſh and French, who had been driven out of St. Chriſtophers, took refuge there in 1630. Though the northern coaſt, where they firſt ſettled, was in a manner forſaken, they conſidered, that being liable to be attacked by a common enemy, it was but prudent to ſecure a retreat. For this purpoſe they pitched upon Tortuga, a ſmall iſland withiu two leagues of the great one; and twenty-five Spaniards, who were left to guard it, retired on the firſt ſummons.

The adventurers of both nations, now abſolute maſters of an iſland eight leagues long and two broad, found a pure air, but no river, and few ſprings. The mountains were covered with valuable woods, and the fertile plains only wanted the hand of the cultivator. The northern coaſt appeared to be inacceſſible; but the ſouthern had an excellent harbour commanded by a rock, which required only a battery of cannon to defend the entrance of the iſland.

This happy ſituation ſoon brought to Tortuga a multitude of thoſe people who are in ſearch either of fortune or liberty. The moſt moderate applied themſelves to the culture of tobacco, which grew into repute, while the more active went to hunt the buffaloes at St. Domingo, and ſold their hides to the Dutch. The moſt intrepid went out to cruiſe, and performed ſuch bold exploits as will be long remembered.

This ſettlement alarmed the court of Madrid. Judging, by the loſſes they had already ſuſtained, of the misfortunes they had ſtill to expect, they gave orders for the deſtruction of the new colony. The general of the galleons choſe, for executing his commiſſion, the time when the brave inhabitants of Tortuga were out at ſea or a-hunting, and with that barbarity which was then ſo familiar to his nation, hanged or put to the ſword all thoſe who were left at home. He then withdrew, without leaving any garriſon, fully perſuaded that ſuch a precaution was needleſs, after the vengeance he had taken. But he ſoon found that cruelty is not the method to ſecure dominion.

The adventurers, informed of what had paſſed at Tortuga, and hearing at the ſame time that a body of five hundred

men, deſtined to haraſs them, was getting ready at St. Domingo, judged that the only way to eſcape the impending ruin, was to put an end to that anarchy in which they lived. They therefore gave up perſonal independence to ſocial ſafety, and made choice of one Willis to be at their head; an Engliſhman, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions by his prudence and valour. Under the guidance of this chief, at the latter end of 1638, they retook an iſland which they had poſſeſſed for eight years, and fortified it, that they might not loſe it again.

The French ſoon felt the effects of national partiality. Willis having ſent for as many of his countrymen as would enable him to give the law, treated the reſt as ſubjects. Such is the natural progreſs of dominion; in this manner moſt monarchies have been formed. Companions in exile, war, or piracy, have choſen a leader, who ſoon uſurps the authority of a maſter. At firſt he ſhares the power or the ſpoils with the ſtrongeſt; till the multitude, cruſhed by the few, embolden the chief to aſſume the whole power to himſelf; and then monarchy degenerates into deſpotiſm. But ſuch a ſeries of revolutions can only take place in many years in great ſtates. An iſland of ſixteen leagues ſquare is not calculated to be peopled only with ſlaves. The commander De Poincy, governor-general of the Windward iſlands, being informed of the tyranny of Willis, immediately ſent forty Frenchmen from St. Chriſtophers, who collected fifty more on the coaſt of St. Domingo. They landed at Tortuga; and having joined their countrymen on the iſland, they all together ſummoned the Engliſh to withdraw. The Engliſh, diſconcerted at ſuch an unexpected and vigorous action, and not doubting but that ſo much haughtineſs was ſupported by a much greater force than it really was, evacuated the iſland, and never returned.

The Spaniards were not ſo tractable. They ſuffered ſo much from the depredations of the pirates who were daily ſent out from Tortuga, that they thought their peace, their honour, and their intereſt, were equally concerned in getting that iſland once more in their own power. Three times they recovered it, and were three times driven out again. At laſt it remained in the hands of the French, in 1659, who evacuated it when they were firmly eſtabliſhed

at St. Domingo, but without giving up the property of it. The government have always drawn from thence the woods neceſſary for ſhip-building, for the uſe of the artillery, and for the troops, till a rapacious miniſter took the iſland out of the hands of the treaſury, in order to increaſe his family inheritance with it.

Their progreſs, however, was but ſlow; and they firſt attracted the attention of the mother country in 1665. Huntſmen, indeed, and pirates were continually ſeen hovering about from one iſland to another; but the number of planters, who were properly only the coloniſts, was exceedingly limited. The government was ſenſible how neceſſary it was to multiply them; and the care of this difficult work was committed to a gentleman of Anjou, name Bertrand Dogeron.

*The court of Verſailles acknowledged theſe enterpriſing men, when they had acquired ſome ſtability, and gave them a governor.*

THIS man, whom nature had formed to be great in himſelf, independent of the ſmiles or frowns of fortune, had ſerved fifteen years in the marines, when he went over to America in 1656. With the beſt contrived plans, he failed in his firſt attempts; but the fortitude he ſhewed in his misfortunes, made his virtues the more conſpicuous; and the expedients he found out to extricate himſelf, heightened the opinion already entertained of his genius. The eſteem and attachment he had inſpired the French with at St. Domingo and Tortuga, induced the government to intruſt him with the care of directing, or rather of ſettling, that colony.

The execution of this project was full of difficulties. It was neceſſary to eſtabliſh the regularity of ſociety upon the ruins of a ferocious anarchy; to ſubject the uncontrouled ſpirit of plunder to the ſacred and ſevere authority of the laws; to revive ſentiments of humanity in men hardened by the habit of crimes; to ſubſtitute the innocent inſtruments of agriculture to the deſtructive weapons of murder; to incite to a laborious life, barbarians accuſtomed to idleneſs, which is the general attendant upon rapine; to inſpire violent men with patience; to induce them to prefer the tardy fruits of obſtinate labour to rapid enjoyments, acquired by ſudden exertions; to ſubſtitute a propenſity for peace to

the thirſt of blood; to inſtil the fear of danger in the mind of him who delighted to expoſe himſelf to it, and the love of life in him who deſpiſed it; it was neceſſary, in a word, that men who had never reſpected any thing, and who had always traded freely with all nations, ſhould be prevailed upon to reſpect the privileges of an excluſive company formed, in 1664, for all the French ſettlements. When all this was effected, it then became neceſſary to allure, by the ſweets of a well regulated government, new inhabitants into a country which had been traduced as a bad climate, and which has not yet known to be ſo fertile as it really was.

Dogeron, contrary to the general opinion, was in hopes he ſhould ſucceed. A long intercourſe with men he was to govern, had taught him how they were to be dealt with; and his ſagacity could ſuggeſt, or his honeſt ſoul adopt, no method of engaging them, but what was noble and juſt. The freebooters were determined to go in ſearch of more advantageous latitudes; he detained them by relinquiſhing to them that ſhare of the booty which his poſt intitled him to, and by obtaining for them from Portugal commiſſions for attacking the Spaniards, even after they had made peace with France. This was the only method to make theſe men friends to their country, who otherwiſe would have turned enemies, rather than have renounced the hopes of plunder. The buccaneers, or huntſmen, who only wiſhed to raiſe a ſufficiency to erect habitations, found him ready to advance them money without intereſt, or to procure them ſome by his credit. As for the planters, whom he preferred to all the other coloniſts, he gave them every poſſible encouragement within the power of his induſtrious activity.

Theſe happy alterations required only to be made permanent. The governor wiſely conſidered, that women could alone perpetuate the happineſs of the men, and the welfare of the colony, by promoting population. This was a natural one; but it was neceſſary to conſider what kind of women they muſt have been, from whom ſuch pleaſing effects could have been expected. Women born of honeſt parents, and well educated; prudent and induſtrious women, who would one day become good wives and affectionate mothers. The total want of one ſex in the new

ſettlement, condemned the other to celibacy. Dogeron thought of remedying this kind of indigence, which is the moſt difficult of any to bear, and which plunges a man into a ſtate of melancholy, and inſpires him with a diſguſt for life, deprived, for him, of its moſt powerful attraction. Fifty young women were ſent over to him from France, and were ſoon diſpoſed of at a very high price. Soon after, a like number arrived, and were obtained on ſtill higher terms. They were ſold as ſo many ſlaves, and bought as any common merchandize. It was money, and not the choice of their heart, that decided their lot. What expectations could be formed from alliances thus contracted? And yet this was the only way to gratify the moſt impetuous of all paſſions without quarrels, and to propagate the human race without bloodſhed. All the inhabitants expected to have female companions from their own country, to alleviate and to ſhare their fate. But they were diſappointed; none were afterwards ſent over, except abandoned women, vile and deſpicable wretches, who embarked with all the vices of the mind, and the diſeaſes of the body, that are attached to an abject condition, which they were far from being aſhamed of, ſince they ſhewed not the leaſt reluctance to engage themſelves for three years in the ſervice of the men. This method of loading the colony with the refuſe of the mother country, introduced ſuch a profligacy of manners, that it became neceſſary to put a ſtop to ſo dangerous an expedient, but without ſubſtituting a better. By this neglect, St. Domingo loſt a great many brave men, who could not live happy there, and was deprived of an increaſe of population which might have proceeded from the coloniſts who ſtill preſerved their attachment to the iſland. The colony has long felt, and perhaps feels to this day, the effects of ſo capital an error.

Notwithſtanding this error, Dogeron found means to increaſe the number of planters to fifteen hundred in four years time, when there were only four hundred at his firſt coming. His ſucceſſes were daily increaſing; when they were ſuddenly ſtopped, in 1670, by an inſurrection, which put the whole colony in a ferment. He did not incur the leaſt cenſure for this unfortunate accident, in which he certainly had no ſhare.

When this worthy man was appointed by the court of France to the government of Tortuga and St. Domingo, he could only prevail upon the inhabitants to acknowledge his authority, by giving them hopes that the ports under his jurisdiction should be open to foreigners. Yet such was the ascendant he gained over their minds, that by degrees he established in the colony the exclusive privilege of the company; which, in time, engrossed the whole trade. But this company became so elated with prosperity, as to be guilty of the injustice of selling their goods for two thirds more than had till then been paid to the Dutch. So destructive a monopoly revolted the inhabitants. They took up arms; and it was but a year after, that they laid them down, upon condition that all French ships should be free to trade with them, paying five per cent. to the company at coming and going out. Dogeron, who brought about this accommodation, availed himself of that circumstance to procure ships, seemingly destined to convey his crops into Europe, but which in fact were more the property of his colonists than his own. Every one shipped his own commodities on-board, allowing a moderate freight. On the return of the vessel, the generous governor caused the cargo to be exposed to public view, and every one took what he wanted, not only at prime cost, but upon trust, without interest, and even without notes of hand. Dogeron had imagined he should inspire them with sentiments of probity and greatness of soul, by taking no other security than their word. By this conduct, he exemplified how well he was acquainted with the human heart. The man whom we have degraded in his self-estimation, by mistrusting him, having nothing to lose in our minds, will not scruple to shew himself occasionally a rogue, a base villain, a traitor, an impostor, such as he really is, or even perhaps such as he is not, but such as he knows you think him to be; while the man, for whom we shall have shewn some share of esteem, will not debase himself if he should have deserved it, and will pique himself upon his honour, if he should not. To impute virtues or vices to men, is frequently the way to inspire them with either. In the midst of these parental offices Dogeron was cut off by death in 1675.

O 6

Miniſters and depoſitaries of the royal authority, inſtead of thoſe long and uſeleſs inſtructions drawn by clerks, as ignorant as they are rapacious, and ſent to the perſons whom you intend for the government of the colonies, who receive them with the utmoſt contempt, get the life of Dogeron written for their uſe, and let it be concluded with theſe words: POSSESS THE VIRTUES OF THIS MAN, AND LET YOUR CONDUCT CONFORM ITSELF TO HIS.

O Dogeron! thy neglected remains repoſe, perhaps, in ſome unknown part of St. Domingo, or of Tortuga. But if thy memory be extinct in thoſe countries, if thy name, tranſmitted from fathers to children, be not pronounced with emotion; the deſcendants of thoſe coloniſts, whoſe felicity you inſured by your talents, by your diſintereſtedneſs, by your courage, by your patience, and by your labours, are ungrateful people, who do not deſerve better governors than moſt of thoſe who are ſent to them.

Dogeron left no other inheritance than an example of patriotiſm, and of every humane and ſocial virtue. Pouancey ſucceeded him. With the ſame qualifications as his uncle, he was not ſo great a man; becauſe he followed his ſteps more from imitation, than from natural diſpoſition. Yet the undiſcerning multitude placed an equal confidence in both; and both had the honour and happineſs to eſtabliſh the colony upon a firm footing, without laws and without ſoldiers. Their natural good ſenſe, and their known integrity, determined all differences to the ſatisfaction of both parties; and public order was maintained by that authority which is the natural conſequence of perſonal merit.

So wiſe a conſtitution could not be laſting; it required too much virtue to make it ſo. In 1684 there was ſo viſible an alteration, that, in order to eſtabliſh a due ſubordination at St. Domingo, two adminiſtrators were called in from Martinico, where good policy was already in a great meaſure ſettled. Theſe legiſlators appointed courts of judicature in the ſeveral diſtricts, accountable to a ſuperior council at Little Guave. In proceſs of time, this juriſdiction growing too extenſive, a like tribunal was erected in 1701, at Cape St. Francis, for the northern diſtricts.

All theſe innovations could hardly be introduced without ſome oppoſition. It was to be feared that the hunters and

pirates, who compoſed the bulk of the people, averſe from the reſtraints that were going to be laid upon them, would go over to the Spaniards and to Jamaica, allured by the proſpect of great advantages. The planters themſelves were under ſome temptation of this kind, as their trade was clogged with ſo many reſtrictions, that they were forced to ſell their commodities at a very low price. The former were gained by perſuaſions; the latter by the proſpect of a change in their ſituation, which was truly deſperate.

Skins had been the firſt article of exportation from St. Domingo, as being the only things the buccaneers brought home. Tobacco was afterwards added by culture; and it was ſold to great advantage to all nations. This trade was ſoon confined by an excluſive company; which, indeed, was in a ſhort time aboliſhed, but with no advantage for the ſale of tobacco, ſince that was farmed out. The inhabitants, hoping to meet with ſome indulgence from government, as a reward for their ſubmiſſion, offered to give the king a fourth part of all the tobacco they ſhould ſend into the kingdom, free of all charge, even of freight, upon condition they ſhould have the entire diſpoſal of the other three fourths. They made it appear, that this method would bring in a clearer profit to the revenue than the forty ſols [1s. 8d.] per cent. which were paid by the farmer. Private intereſt oppoſed ſo reaſonable a propoſal.

In circumſtances ſuch as theſe, I am always aſtoniſhed at the patience of the oppreſſed people. I ſay to myſelf, why do they not all aſſemble together at the houſe of the member of adminiſtration appointed to govern them, and addreſs him in the following terms? "We are weary of an "authority which vexes us. Retire from our country, and "tell the perſon whoſe repreſentative you are, that we are "no rebels, becauſe no rebellion can exiſt unleſs it be againſt "a good king, and that he is only a tyrant againſt whom "we have a right to revolt. You may add, that if he "ſhould be deſirous of poſſeſſing a deſert country he will "ſoon be ſatisfied; for that we are all determined to periſh, rather than live any longer miſerable under an unjuſt "government." The coloniſts did not give way to the ſuggeſtions of deſpair, but in their reſentment they turned

their induſtry with ſucceſs to the culture of indigo and cocoa. Cotton was a very promoſing article, becauſe it had in former times greatly enriched the Spaniards; but they ſoon gave it up, for what reaſon is not known; and in a few years not a ſingle cotton plant was to be ſeen.

Till then the labours had all been performed by hirelings, and by the pooreſt of the inhabitants. Some ſucceſsful expeditions againſt the Spaniards procured them a few negroes. The number was increaſed by two or three French ſhips, and much more by prizes taken from the Engliſh during the war of 1688; by an invaſion of Jamaica, from whence the French brought away three thouſand blacks, in 1694. Without ſlaves, the culture of ſugar could not be undertaken, but they alone were not ſufficient. Money was wanting to erect buildings, and to purchaſe utenſils. The profit ſome inhabitants made with the freebooters, who were always ſucceſsful in their expeditions, enabled them to employ the ſlaves. They therefore undertook the planting of the canes, which convey the gold of Mexico to thoſe nations whoſe only mines are fruitful lands.

*A company is eſtabliſhed for the ſouthern part of St. Domingo.*

But the colony, which, though it had loſt ſome of its Europeans, had ſtill made a progreſs to the north and weſt, amidſt the devaſtations that preceded the peace of Ryſwick, was yet but little advanced to the ſouth. This part did not reckon a hundred inhabitants, all living in huts, and all extremely wretched. The government could fix upon no better expedient, to make ſome advantage of ſo extenſive and ſo fine a country, than to grant, in 1698, for the ſpace of half a century, the property of it to a company, which took the name of *St. Louis*.

This company engaged, under the penalty of forfeiting their charter, to form a capital of 1,200,000 livres [50,000l.] and to convey, in the courſe of the five firſt years, upon the lands granted to them, fifteen hundred white people, and two thouſand five hundred negroes, with one hundred of the former and two hundred of the latter each of the following years: they were to diſtribute lands to whoever ſhould be deſirous of them. Each perſon, according to his wants and

abilities, obtained ſlaves that were to be paid for in three years; the men at the rate of ſix hundred livres [25l.] and the women at the rate of four hundred and fifty livres [18l. 15s.] The ſame credit was allowed for merchandize.

Upon theſe conditions, the charter inſured to the new ſociety the excluſive right of buying and ſelling throughout the whole territory aſſigned to them, but at the prices only that were ſettled in the other parts of the iſland. Even this dependence, oppreſſive to the coloniſt, was ſtill alleviated, by allowing him to take, where he thought proper, whatever he was left in want of, and to pay out of his proviſions, whatever he might have occaſion to buy.

Monopoly, as a torrent that is loſt in the abyſs itſelf has made, works its own ruin by its rapaciouſneſs. The company of St. Louis affords an inſtance, among many others, of the defects and abuſes of excluſive aſſociations. It was ruined by the knavery and extravagance of its agents; nor was the territory committed to its care the better for all theſe loſſes. The plantations and people that were found there, when the company gave up her rights to the government in 1720, were chiefly owing to the contraband traders.

*The colony of St. Domingo becomes the moſt flouriſhing in the New World.*

It was during the long and bloody war begun on account of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, that this attempt had been made towards the improvement of the colony. It might have been expected to have made a ſpeedy progreſs, when tranquillity was reſtored to both nations by the peace of Utrecht. Theſe happy proſpects were blaſted by one of thoſe calamities which it is not in the power of man to foreſee. All the cocoa trees upon the colony died in 1715. Dogeron had planted the firſt in 1665. In proceſs of time they had increaſed; eſpecially in the narrow valleys to the weſtward. There were no leſs than twenty thouſand upon ſome plantations; ſo that, though cocoa ſold for no more than five ſols [2½d.] a pound, it was become a plentiful ſource of wealth.

Cultivations of greater importance amply compenſated this loſs, when a circumſtance of the moſt diſtreſſing nature

threw the whole colony into conſternation. A conſiderable number of its inhabitants, who had devoted twenty years labour in a burning climate, to lay up a competency to ſpend a comfortable old age in their native country, were returned to it, with a ſufficient fortune to enable them to diſcharge their debts and purchaſe eſtates. Their commodities were paid them in bank notes, which proved uſeleſs to them. This fatal calamity obliged them to return poor into an iſland from whence they had departed rich; and reduced them, in their old age, to ſolicit employment from the very people who had formerly been their ſervants. The ſight of ſo many unfortunate perſons inſpired a general deteſtation for the India company, which was conſidered as accountable for theſe calamities. This averſion, raiſed by mere compaſſion, was ſoon changed into a profound hatred, and not without ſufficient reaſon.

The French colonies, ſince their eſtabliſhment, received their ſlaves from the hands of the monopoly, and conſequently received but few, and at an exorbitant price. Being reduced in 1713 to the impoſſibility of continuing their languid operations, the company themſelves made the private merchants partners in their trade, upon condition that they ſhould pay 15 livres [12s. 6d.] for every negro they ſhould carry to the Windward iſlands, and 30 livres [1l. 5s.] for thoſe whom they ſhould introduce into St. Domingo. This new arrangement was followed by ſo great a degree of activity, that the government were at length induced to give up excluſive privileges, by granting in 1716 the Guinea trade to the ports of Rouen, of Bourdeaux, of Nantz, and of La Rochelle. It was to coſt them two piſtoles [16s. 8d.] for every ſlave who ſhould arrive in America; but the commodities which were to be acquired by the ſale of theſe unfortunate people, were exonerated from one half of the duties to which the other productions were ſubject. The inhabitants were juſt beginning to feel the good effects of this liberty, imperfect as it was, ſince it was confined to four ports, when St. Domingo was condemned again to receive its planters from the India company, who were not even obliged to furniſh them with more than two thouſand every year. We cannot, indeed, determine which is the moſt aſtoniſhing circumſtance in the courſe of the events relative to the New World, either the rage of the

firſt conquerors who laid it waſte, or the ſtupidity of the governments, which by a ſeries of abſurd regulations, ſeem to have propoſed to themſelves either to perpetuate the miſery of the inhabitants, or to plunge them again into that ſtate, whenever they entertained hopes of emerging from it.

In 1722, the agents of this odious company arrived in the colony. The buildings where they tranſacted their buſineſs were burnt to the ground. The ſhips that came to them from Africa were either denied admittance into the harbour, or not ſuffered to diſpoſe of their cargoes. The chief governor, who endeavoured to oppoſe theſe diſturbances, ſaw his authority deſpiſed, and his orders diſobeyed, as they were not inforced by any compulſive power: he was even put under arreſt. Every part of the iſland reſounded with the clamours of ſedition and the noiſe of arms. It is difficult to ſay how far theſe exceſſes would have been carried, had not government had the prudence to make conceſſions. In this one inſtance, the people did not ſuffer for the folly of their rulers; and the duke of Orleans convinced mankind, upon this occaſion, that he was above the ordinary ſtamp of men, by avowing himſelf the author of a rebellion which he had excited by a defective inſtitution, and which, under a ruler leſs enlightened or leſs moderate, would have been ſeverely puniſhed. After two years of trouble and confuſion, the inconveniences reſulting from anarchy diſpoſed the minds of all parties to peace, and tranquillity was reſtored without having recourſe to violent meaſures.

From that period, no colony ever ſo much improved its time as that of St. Domingo. It advanced with the utmoſt rapidity to a proſperous ſtate. The two unfortunate wars which annoyed its ſeas, have only ſerved to compreſs its ſtrength, which has increaſed the more ſince the ceſſation of hoſtilities. A wound is ſoon healed when the conſtitution is ſound. Diſeaſes themſelves, in the ſtate, as well as in the body, are a kind of remedies, which, by the expulſion of the vitiated humours, add new vigour to a robuſt habit of body. Thoſe diſorders that are fatal to either the one or the other, are ſuch as, being ſlow in their progreſs, keep them in a ſtate of perpetual indiſpoſition, and lead them imperceptibly to the grave. But after diſeaſes

that are acute have brought on a violent criſis, the delirium ceaſes and the debility goes off; and as the ſtrength is reſtored a more regular and uniform motion is eſtabliſhed, which promiſes a laſting duration to the machine. So war ſeems to ſtrengthen and ſupport national ſpirit in many ſtates of Europe, which might be enervated and corrupted by the proſperity of commerce and the enjoyments of luxury. The immenſe loſſes which almoſt equally attend victory and defeat, excite induſtry and quicken labour. Nations will recover their former ſplendour, provided their rulers will let them follow their own bent, and not pretend to direct their ſteps. This principle is peculiarly applicable to France, where nothing more is requiſite to proſperity than to give a free courſe to the activity of the inhabitants. Wherever nature leaves them at full liberty, they ſucceed ingiving her powers their full ſcope. St. Domingo affords a ſtriking inſtance of what may be expected from a good ſoil, and an advantageous ſituation in the hands of Frenchmen.

*Settlements formed in the ſouthern part of St. Domingo.*

The ſouthern part, which is occupied by France, extends from Pitre Point to Cape Tiburon. At the period of their conqueſts in the New World, the Spaniards had built upon this coaſt two large villages, which they forſook in leſs proſperous times. The vacated places were not immediately occupied by the French, who muſt be apprehenſive of the vicinity of St. Domingo, where the chief force of that power, upon whoſe ruin they were riſing, was concentrated. Their privateers, who commonly aſſembled at the little iſland called Vache iſland, to cruize upon the Caſtilians, and divide their ſpoils, encouraged ſome planters to begin a ſmall ſettlement upon the continent in 1673. It was ſoon deſtroyed, nor was it reſumed till a conſiderable time after. The company appointed to ſettle and extend this colony did not fulfil their obligations. Its progreſs was owing to the Engliſh of Jamaica, and to the Dutch of Curaſſou, who having reſolved to carry ſlaves to this place, bought up the produce of a land, which they themſelves alone contributed to improve. It was not till 1740, that the merchants of the mother country began to attend to this ſettlement.

From this period they frequented this part of the colony a little, notwithſtanding the winds, which often render the ſailing out of this road tedious and difficult.

The part which is to the eaſt of all the reſt is called Jaquemel. It conſiſts of three pariſhes, which occupy thirty-ſix leagues of the coaſt, and run into a moderate and very unequal degree of depth. This vaſt ſpace is filled up with ſixty plantations of coffee, ſixty-two of indigo, and ſixty of cotton. Moſt of their planters are poor, and can never grow very rich. A ſoil, which is in general full of hills, ſtony, and expoſed to droughts, prevents them from aſpiring to wealth. This can only be done by thoſe who divide the plain of Jaquemel. There are twenty very ſpacious habitations, of which ten only are watered, though they be all ſuſceptible of this advantage. It is there, that in an exhauſted ſoil, indigo, which would require a virgin ſoil, is cultivated. When hands, and other means for carrying on an extenſive culture, ſhall no longer be wanting, ſugar will be ſubſtituted to it, which ſucceeds as well as can be deſired, in the only plantation where the coloniſts have begun to cultivate it.

Aquin hath an extent of fifteen leagues along the borders of the ſea, and of three, four, and ſometimes ſix, leagues in the inland parts. This ſettlement reckons forty plantations of indigo, twenty of coffee, and nine of cotton. Its mountains, leſs elevated than thoſe which are contiguous to them, on that account enjoy only the benefit of a few ſprings, and a ſmall quantity of rain, and promiſe nothing but great abundance of cotton, which will undoubtedly be one day required of them. With regard to its plains, they were formerly in a flouriſhing ſtate; but the droughts, which have gradually increaſed in proportion as the country hath been cleared, have diminiſhed more and more the quality of the indigo, which conſtituted all the riches of the colony. This plant, which leaves the ground almoſt habitually expoſed to the heat of a burning ſun, ſhould be replaced by ſugar, which would keep the earth covered for eighteen months together, and will preſerve in it for a long time the ſmalleſt degree of moiſture. Four of the moſt wealthy inhabitants have already made this change in their plantations. The nature of the ſoil will allow twenty-five coloniſts to follow their example; and

they will no doubt reſolve upon it, when they ſhall have acquired the means ſufficient for that purpoſe, and when the waters of the river Serpente ſhall have been prudently diſtributed. In the preſent ſtate of things, all the productions of that diſtrict are collected in one town only, which is far advanced in the inland parts. The impoſſibility of conveying them to the coaſt in the rainy ſeaſons, and the unavoidable expences of the carriage, even in the moſt favourable times, had ſuggeſted the idea of forming this ſtaple upon the borders of a deep bay, where the commodities are ſhipped: but this ſituation doth not afford one acre of ground fit for cultivation; there is no ſweet water to be found in it, and the ſtagnating waters of the ſea corrupt the air. Theſe reaſons have cauſed this project to be laid aſide, for its inconveniencies would be greater than the advantages derived from it.

St. Lewis is a kind of town, which, though built at the beginning of the century, hath no more than fifty houſes. The forming of this ſettlement was determined upon, on account of an exceeding good harbour, even for ſhips of the line. Conſiderable fortifications were erected upon a ſmall iſland, ſituated at the entrance of the harbour, which were deſtroyed by the Engliſh in 1748, and have never ſince been reſtored. The territory of this diſtrict extends five or ſix leagues along the coaſt. Its mountains covered with acacia wood, are moſt of them ſuſceptible of culture. Its plain, which is uneven, hath ſome fertile ſpots upon it, and its numerous moraſſes might be dried up. There are no more than twenty plantations of coffee, fifteen of indigo, ſix of cotton, and two of ſugar, here. This laſt production would ſucceed in ten or twelve plantations, eſpecially if they were watered by the river St. Lewis, which, it is thought, they might eaſily be.

Cavaillon doth not occupy more than three leagues upon the borders of the ocean. This is a long neck of land, which extends eight or nine leagues up the country. It is divided by a large river, which, in times of heavy rains, unfortunately overflows to a conſiderable diſtance, and occaſions great ravages. At the diſtance of two leagues from its mouth is a ſmall town, where the veſſels arrive, and where they take in the productions, which are furniſhed by twenty plantations of coffee, ten of indigo, ſix of cotton,

and ſeventeen of ſugar. The number of the laſt might be doubled, with facility, in a plain which hath five or ſix thouſand ſquares in extent; but the three moſt flouriſhing of thoſe which exiſt have ſcaree yielded half of what they might produce, and the others only yield a trifling produce, and of a bad quality. The mountains, though covered with an excellent ſoil, do not compenſate for this deficiency. The diſtricts granted by government will remain uncultivated, till roads ſhall have been made for the conveyance of the productions. This undertaking, which is beyond the means of the inhabitants, ought to be executed by the troops. Idleneſs, and infectious moraſſes, have hitherto deprived the ſoldiers of their induſtry, and have made them periſh upon the banks of the ſea. The freſhneſs of elevated places, the wholeſome air which is breathed there, a moderate ſhare of labour, and the eaſy circumſtances which it would be proper they ſhould enjoy; in a word, all theſe concurring cauſes, would they not maintain them in their natural ſtrength? would they not inſure their preſervation?

The plain at the bottom of Vache iſland contains twenty-five thouſand ſquares, of a ſoil which is excellent everywhere, except in ſome parts that have been covered with gravel by the torrents, and a few moraſſes, which might be eaſily dried up. There have been ſucceſſively formed here eighty-three ſugar plantations, and there might ſtill be fifty more eſtabliſhed. Thoſe which exiſt have ſcarce more than one third of their territory cultivated, and yet they yield an immenſe quantity of raw ſugar. From this we may judge how much the whole of the grounds would furniſh, if they were properly cultivated. One might depend upon a produce ſo much the more regular, as the rains do not fail ſo often in this diſtrict as in the others, and as there are three rivers running through it, which offer themſelves, as it were, for the watering of all the plantations.

The ſugar and the indigo which grow in the plain, the coffee and the cotton, which deſcend from the mountains, are all carried to the town of Caves, formed by near four hundred houſes, which are all built in a marſhy territory, and are moſt of them ſurrounded with ſtagnant waters.

The air which is breathed in that place is equally deficient in elaſticity as in ſalubrity.

This ſtaple ſeems to have been placed, as it were, fortuitouſly in the bottom of a ſhallow bay, which grows more and more ſo, and has but three channels. The anchorage is ſo confined, and ſo dangerous, during the equinox, that ſhips which happen to be there at that ſeaſon are frequently loſt. The great quantity of mud brought thither by the waters of a torrent on the ſouth ſide, has increaſed to ſuch a degree, that in twenty years time there will be no entrance. The canal, formed by the vicinity of Vache iſland, is of no uſe, and only obſtructs the navigation. The creeks in this place are the reſort of the privateers of Jamaica. As they cruize there without ſails, and can obſerve without being ſeen, they always have the advantage of the wind over ſuch veſſels as are hindered, by the violence and conſtant ſtruggle of the winds, from paſſing above the iſland. If it were poſſible that any men of war could put into this bad harbour, the impoſſibility of ſurmounting this obſtacle and that of the currents, in order to get to windward of the iſland, would oblige them to follow the track of merchant ſhips. Doubling, therefore, one after another, the point of Labacou, on account of the ſhoals, theſe ſhips would get between the land and the enemy's fire, with the diſadvantage of the wind, and would infallibly be deſtroyed by an inferior ſquadron.

The town of Cayes is not better than its harbour. It contains 280 houſes, all ſunk into ſwampy ground, and moſt of them ſurrounded with ſtagnant water. The air of this ſpot is foul and unwholeſome; and on this account, as well as the badneſs of the harbour, it has often been wiſhed by the court of Verſailles, that the trade with the mother country could be tranſferred to St. Lewis. But the efforts that have been made to effect this, have hitherto been unſucceſsful; and will for ever be ſo; becauſe it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that exchanges will always be eſtabliſhed on that ſpot where the productions are moſt plentiful, and where the conſumption is greateſt. To pretend to thwart this order of things preſcribed by nature, would be to retard to no purpoſe the progreſs of a good ſettlement. Even the caprices of induſtry ſhould be indulged by government. The leaſt uneaſineſs in the trader creates diſtruſt. Political and military reaſonings will ne-

ver prevail againſt thoſe of intereſt. Trade only flouriſhes in a ſoil of its own chooſing. It is alarmed at every kind of reſtraint.

All that the French miniſtry could reaſonably propoſe, would be to withdraw the tribunals from St. Lewis, which neither is, nor ever will be, of any conſequence, in order to transfer them to Cayes, where the population and the productions, which are already conſiderable, muſt increaſe greatly; to dig a bed for a torrent, the violent overflowings of which frequently occaſion inexpreſſible ravages; and to fortify, and render the town more wholeſome. Both might be effected, by digging a ditch all round the town, and the rubbiſh would ſerve to fill up the marſhes within. The ground, being raiſed higher by this contrivance, would conſequently grow drier; the water, which would be brought down by a gentle deſcent from the river into this deep ditch, would, by the aſſiſtance of ſome fortifications, ſecure the town from the attacks of the privateers; and would even afford a temporary defence, and allow time to capitulate with a ſmall ſquadron.

Greater improvements might and ought to be made. Why not allow a factitious harbour to an important mart, which will ſoon be ſtopped? The merchant ſhips that ſeek ſhelter in what is called the Flemiſh bay, two leagues to windward of Cayes, ſeem to point out this ſpot as the harbour that this town ſtands in need of. It would contain a conſiderable number of men of war, ſafe from all winds; would afford them ſeveral careening places; would admit of their doubling the Vache iſland to windward, and enable them to carry on with the town, alongſide the coaſt, an intercourſe, which, being protected by batteries properly diſpoſed, would keep the privateers in awe. The only inconvenience is, that the ſhipworm is more apt to injure the veſſel in this place than in other parts, on account of the nature of the bottom and the calmneſs of the ſea.

Abacou is a peninſula, which was formerly in a flouriſhing ſtate, on account of the abundance and the quality of its indigo. But ſince this voracious plant hath deſtroyed every principle of vegetation upon the numerous little hillocs of that place, it is nowhere cultivated with any ſucceſs but upon the borders of the ſea, which are enriched with the ſpoils of the upper grounds. This decreaſe hath

determined a certain number of coloniſts to transfer their induſtry to other parts. Thoſe who, either from habit or reaſon, have perſevered in remaining on their plantations, have enlarged them as much as they have found it convenient. They ſtill maintain themſelves by ſuffering part of their grounds to lie fallow, while the other part is cultivated. But this reſource is not equal to what it would be in Europe. This is the opinion of the inhabitants themſelves, who direct their induſtry towards the culture of ſugar, as much as their fortune and their credit will allow them.

It is upon the cultivated and exhauſted heights of this quarter, that it would be proper to breed cattle. Government were in an error, when they ceded the mountains, upon condition that they ſhould be covered with horned cattle. Beſides that a virgin ſoil could not be reaſonably employed in paſture ground, as it might be rendered more productive to the ſtate; it was impoſſible to expect that enterpriſing men would make themſelves ſhepherds, when they could derive greater advantages from their grounds, in whatever culture they might employ them. It may even be affirmed, that the cattle will always be infinitely ſcarce at St. Domingo, even in thoſe places which cannot be employed for any other purpoſe, as long as the monopoly of ſlaughter houſes ſhall ſubſiſt in the colony.

Coteaux occupies about ten leagues of the ſhore, and is from two to five leagues in depth. Small creeks are everywhere found, where it is eaſy to land; but none of them offer a ſecure ſhelter in rough weather. This quarter contains twenty-four plantations of coffee, three of cotton, and ſixty-ſix of indigo. This laſt production hath leſs decreaſed in quantity, and leſs degenerated in quality, at this place, than anywhere elſe; advantages which muſt be attributed to the nature and to the diſpoſition of the territory. The time, however, doth not ſeem far diſtant, when the borders of the ſea will diſplay fourteen or fifteen ſugar plantations formed upon the ruins of the ancient cultures. Habit, and the facility of obtaining ſlaves by contraband connections, will facilitate this revolution.

Tiburon, which hath ten leagues of extent upon the borders of the ſea, and two, three, or four, in the inland parts, terminates this coaſt. The road of this cape doth

not offer a ſufficient ſhelter againſt ſtorms; but well-diſpoſed batteries may render it a place of retreat for the French veſſels, which are purſued in time of war in theſe latitudes. This ſettlement hath four habitations for cotton, thirty for indigo, and thirty-ſeven for coffee. Four ſugar plantations have been eſtabliſhed there ſince the peace, and their number may be increaſed to ſixteen.

*Means by which the cultures of the ſouthern part of the colony might be improved.*

All the ſettlements which we have juſt taken a review of, languiſh in a ſtate of greater or leſs miſery. Accordingly, the ſales and the purchaſes are not made there with metals, as in the northern or eaſtern part of the colony. On the ſouthern, the merchandize of Europe is exchanged for the productions of America. This ſavage practice occaſions eternal diſcuſſions, innumerable frauds, and ruinous delays, which keep off the navigators, thoſe eſpecially who carry on the ſlave trade.

It is a fact, which is but too well proved, that the annual loſs of negroes amounts naturally to one twentieth part of them, and that accidents carry off a fifteenth part. From this circumſtance it follows, that the country we are ſpeaking of, and in which upwards of forty thouſand ſlaves are collected, muſt have ſeen five-and-twenty thouſand of them die in ten years time. Eight thouſand one hundred and thirty-four Africans, who have been introduced by French privateers from 1763 to 1773, have not certainly been able to fill up this great void. What would then have been the fate of thoſe ſettlements if the ſmuggling trade had not ſupplied the deficiency? But this is not the whole.

The ſouthern part of St. Domingo hath a great diſadvantage. The mountains that command it, deprive it, as well as the weſtern coaſt, during the ſpace of about ſix months, of the rains of the north and the north-eaſt, which fertilize the northern parts of the country. It will then remain untilled or be ill cultivated, till the waters of the rivers ſhall have ſupplied the place of thoſe from the ſky. This operation, which would increaſe the productions by two thirds, requires a vaſt capital and a great number of

ſlaves. The trade of France, whether from inability or miſtruſt, doth not furniſh them.

What meaſures ought government to purſue? They ſhould lay open that part of the colony for the ſpace of ten or fifteen years, freely to all foreigners. The Engliſh would carry negroes to it, and the Dutch would advance money at an intereſt which might very well be ſuſtained by the cultures of the New World. The ſucceſs of this ſtep would be infallible, if laws were made which ſhould give a proper degree of validity to the credit of the two nations.

*Settlements formed to the weſt of St. Domingo.*

The weſtern part of the colony differs greatly from the ſouthern. The firſt ſettlement, of any conſequence, which is found there, is that of Jeremiah, or the Great bay. It occupies twenty leagues of coaſt, from Cape Tiburon to Petit-Trou, and extends from four to ſix leagues in the inland parts. As this diſtrict is ſtill an infant ſettlement, the borders of the ſea only are inhabited, and theſe even very little. All the productions, however, which enrich the reſt of the iſland are cultivated here. There is alſo one production which is peculiar to it, and this is cacao, which could not ſucceed in more open places; and one hundred thouſand pounds weight are annually gathered. The ſtaple is a ſmall town agreeably built and ſituated upon an eminence, where the air is exceedingly wholeſome. It muſt in time become a conſiderable mart. Unfortunately it hath got a bad harbour: whenever the north winds blow with any degree of violence, the ſhips are obliged either to take refuge at Cape *Dame Marie*, where no meaſures have been taken to protect them, or to ſeek for the iſland of Caymites, which is expoſed to the inroads of the pirates.

The Little Guave was formerly in great reputation, which was owing to its harbour, where ſhips of all ſizes found an excellent anchorage, conveniencies for refitting, and a ſhelter from all winds. It was an aſylum the moſt convenient for adventurers, whoſe only deſign was to appropriate to themſelves the ſpoils of the Spaniſh navigators. This place hath loſt much of its celebrity ſince cultures have ſucceeded to piracy; it owes the ſmall degree of conſider-

ation it ſtill retains to the richneſs of its territorial productions, which are limited to fifteen plantations of ſugar, twenty of coffee, and twelve of indigo or cotton; and ſtill more to the produce of twenty-four plantations of ſugar, fifty of indigo, ſixty-ſeven of coffee, and thirty-four of cotton, which are poured into its ſtaple from the pariſhes of Petit-Trou, Lance-à-Veaux, St. Michael, and the Great Guave. It is unhealthy, and will always be ſo, till a ſlope hath been made for the river Abaret, the ſtagnant waters of which form infectious moraſſes.

The dependencies of Leogane have ſome degree of extent: twenty habitations are reckoned among them deſtined for indigo, forty for coffee, ten for cotton, and fifty-two for ſugar. Before the earthquake of 1770, which deſtroyed every thing, the town had fifteen regular built ſtreets, and four hundred houſes of ſtone, which are at preſent only built of wood. Its poſition, which is upon a narrow, fertile, and well-watered plain, would be excellent, if a navigable canal were made to open an eaſy communication with its harbour, which is no more than a mile diſtant.

If it were adviſable to have a fortified town on the weſtern coaſt, undoubtedly Leogane would claim the preference. It ſtands upon plain ground, is not commanded by any eminence, nor can it be annoyed by any ſhips. But to ſecure it from being ſurpriſed, it ſhould at leaſt have been ſurrounded with a deep ditch, which might eaſily be filled with water without the leaſt expence. This might have been effected at a much more reaſonable rate than the works which have been begun at Port-au-Prince.

The weſtern part of the iſland was the firſt that was cultivated by the French, that being at the greateſt diſtance from the Spaniſh forces, which they had then reaſon to fear. This being in the centre of the coaſts that belonged to them, the ſeat of government was fixed there. It was firſt ſettled at the Little Guave, hath been ſince transferred to Leogane, and hath at laſt been fixed at Port-au-Prince in 1750.

The territory of this diſtrict contains forty plantations of ſugar, fifty of coffee, and fifteen of cotton. This produce is increaſed by ſeveral ſtill more conſiderable, which ariſe from the rich plains of the Cul-de-Sac, of the Arcahaye,

and of the mountains of Mirbalais. In this point of view, Port-au-Prince is an important ſtaple, to which a protection ought to be granted ſufficient to prevent any ſurpriſe, and to ſecure the retreat of the citizens. But let us conſider whether it was proper to concentrate in this ſpot the civil and military authority, the tribunals, the troops, the ammunition, the proviſions, and the arſenals; every thing, in a word, which contributes to the ſupport of a great colony.

The place that was made choice of for the intended capital, is an opening of about 1,400 toiſes long in a direct line, and commanded on both ſides. Two harbours, formed by ſome iſlets, have afforded a pretence for this injudicious choice. The harbour intended for trading veſſels being now almoſt filled up, can no longer admit men of war with ſafety; and the great harbour deſigned for theſe, being as unwholeſome as the other, from the exhalations of the ſmall iſlands, neither is nor can be defended by any thing againſt a ſuperior enemy.

A ſmall ſquadron might even block up a ſtronger one in ſo unfavourable a poſition. Gonave, which divides the bay in two, would leave a free and ſafe paſſage for the ſmaller ſquadron; the ſea winds would prevent the other ſquadron from getting up to it; the land winds, by facilitating the exit of the enemy's ſhips from the harbour, would leave them the choice of retreating through either of the outlets of St. Mark and Leogane; and all other circumſtances being equal, they would always have the advantage of keeping Gonave between them and the French ſquadron.

But what would be the conſequence, if the French ſquadron ſhould prove the weakeſt? Diſabled and purſued, it could never gain a ſhelter that runs ſo deep into land as Port-au-Prince, before the conqueror had taken advantage of its defeat. If the diſabled ſhips ſhould reach the place, nothing could hinder the enemy from purſuing them almoſt in a line, and even from entering the king's harbour, where they would take refuge.

The beſt of all ſtations for a cruiſe is that where one may chooſe whether one will accept or decline the fight, where there is but a ſmall ſpace to guard, where the whole may be viewed from one central point, where a ſafe anchorage may be found at every tack, where one may be concealed without going far, procure wood and water at

pleaſure, and ſail in open ſeas, in which there is nothing to fear but from ſqualls. Theſe are the advantages that an enemy's ſquadron will always have over the French ſhips at anchor in Port-au-Prince. A ſingle frigate might ſafely come and bid them defiance, and be ſufficient to intercept any trading ſhips that ſhould attempt to go in or out without a convoy.

Nevertheleſs, a harbour ſo unfavourable as this, hath determined the building of the town. It extends along the ſea-ſhore the ſpace of 1,200 toiſes, that is, nearly along the opening which the ſea has made in the centre of the weſtern coaſt. In this great extent, which runs in to the depth of 550 toiſes, are, as it were, loſt, 558 houſes or dwelling-places, diſperſed in 29 ſtreets. The drainings of the torrents that fall from the hills, render this place always damp, without ſupplying it with good water. Add to all this, the little ſecurity there is in a place commanded on the land ſide, and on the ſea ſide eaſy of acceſs in all parts. Even the ſmall iſlands which divide the harbours would be ſo far from defending the town from an invaſion, that they would only ſerve to cover the landing.

Such is the ſpot, which on account of private intereſts, hath been unfortunately choſen to build the capital of St. Domingo upon. It hath been entirely deſtroyed by an earthquake which happened in 1770. This was the time to have brought about an alteration, and there was the more reaſon to expect it, as there is the greateſt probability that the new town is built upon the cavern of the volcano. But theſe hopes were fruſtrated; the private houſes and the public edifices have all been rebuilt.

Sleep on then, thou ſenſeleſs inhabitant of St. Domingo, ſince thou art ſo intrepid; ſleep on, upon the ſlight and thin layer of earth which parts thee from the gulf of fire that burns under thy pillow. Remain ignorant of the danger with which thou art threatened, ſince thy apprehenſions would tend only to embitter every inſtant of thy life, without preſerving thee from it.—Conſider not how much thine exiſtence is precarious. Be not informed, that it depends upon the caſual fall of a ſtream, or upon the infiltration, already perhaps far advanced, of the ſmall quantity of waters by which thou art ſurrounded in the ſubterranean cauldron, which thy habitation hath been doomed to cover. If

thou ſhouldſt emerge from thy ſtupidity only for an inſtant, what would become of thee! Thou wouldſt behold death moving under thy feet. The hollow ſound of the torrents of ſulphur expanded, would continually aſſail thine ears. Thou wouldſt feel the oſcillation of the layer of earth that ſupports thee. Thou wouldſt hear it open with tumultuous noiſe. Thou wouldſt fly from thy houſe, and run diſtractedly about the ſtreets. Thou wouldſt think that the walls of thy dwelling, and all the edifices, were ſhaking, and that thou wert going to deſcend in the midſt of their ruins into the gulf which is prepared, if not for thee, at leaſt for thy unfortunate poſterity. The completion of the diſaſter that awaits them will be ſhorter than my account of it. But if there exiſt a juſtice to avenge great crimes; if there be an infernal region, it is there, I truſt, that the villains, who, blinded by views of ſelf-intereſt, have impoſed upon the throne, and whoſe fatal councils have raiſed this monument of ignorance and ſtupidity upon which thou dwelleſt, and which hath perhaps but an inſtant of duration; it is there that they will go, and groan perpetually in unextinguiſhable flames.

St. Marc, which hath only two hundred houſes, but pleaſantly built, is ſituated at the bottom of a bay, which is crowned with a creſcent of little hills filled with freeſtone. Two rivulets run through the town, and its air is pure. There are to be found upon its territory no more than ten plantations of ſugar, thirty-two of indigo, one hundred of coffee, and ſeventy-two of cotton. Its harbour, however, though a bad one, attracts a great number of navigators, and it is indebted for this advantage to the riches of the Artibonite.

This is an exceeding good plain, fifteen leagues in length, and of unequal breadth, from four to nine leagues; it is divided into two parts by the river from which it takes its name, and which flows with rapidity along the higheſt part of the plain, after having run through ſome of the Spaniſh poſſeſſions and the country of Mirbalais. The elevation of theſe waters hath ſuggeſted the idea of dividing them, the poſſibility of doing which hath been geometrically demonſtrated. So great is the power of enlightened nations over nature itſelf; but a project founded on the baſis of

mathematical knowledge, requires the utmoſt caution in the execution.

In the preſent ſtate of things, the plantations formed upon the right ſhore are expoſed to frequent droughts, which often diſappoint the beſt grounded expectations. Thoſe of the left ſhore, which are evidently placed much lower, are well watered, and have riſen by this advantage to the higheſt perfection in their cultures. The proprietors of the former haſten the ſpreading of the waters, which is guarded againſt by the latter, who are apprehenſive of ſeeing their grounds overflowed.

If, as it is generally underſtood, theſe are effectual methods to render one part fertile, without reducing the other part to barrenneſs, why ſhould this operation be poſtponed, by which an increaſe of ten or twelve millions weight of ſugar might be obtained? This increaſe would be ſtill more conſiderable, if a method could be deviſed to drain that part of the coaſt which is overflowed by the waters of the Artibonite. Thus it is, that the civilized man, by changing the courſe of rivers, makes the earth ſubſervient to his uſe. The fertility he imparts to the lands can only juſtify his conqueſts; if indeed art and labour, laws and virtues, may be allowed in proceſs of time to atone for the injuſtice of invaſion.

The territory of the Gonaves is flat, tolerably even, and very dry; it hath two plantations of ſugar, ten of coffee, ſix of indigo, and thirty of cotton; this laſt production might be eaſily multiplied, upon a great extent of ſand, which at preſent doth not appear proper for any other kind of culture. But ſhould the waters of the Artibonite be ever prudently diſtributed, a conſiderable part of this large diſtrict would be covered with ſugar canes. It would then be perceived, that the ſeat of government ought to have been placed in its port, which is excellent, and might be eaſily fortified. Another advantage which muſt neceſſarily add to the value of this country, is, that mineral waters are to be found there. They were neglected for a long while, in a colony which is always full of ſick perſons or convaleſcents; but at length in 1772, baths and fountains, commodious habitations, and an hoſpital for ſoldiers and ſailors, were built there.

*Reflections upon the little concern which the mother country and the colonies have for each other.*

THE colonies preſent us with ſome contradictory phenomena which it is impoſſible to deny, and which it is difficult to conciliate.

There can ſcarce be a doubt, but that we hold the productions of the colonies in high eſtimation. Why therefore do we concern ourſelves ſo little about the proſperity and the preſervation of the coloniſts? If the violence of a hurricane ſhall have buried thouſands of unfortunate people under the ruins of their dwellings, and ſhall have laid waſte their poſſeſſions; this is an event which takes up our attention leſs than a duel fought, or an aſſaſſination committed, at home. Should a vaſt country of the diſtant continent continue to be ravaged by ſome epidemical diſeaſe, we talk of the matter at home with more coolneſs, than of the uncertain return of the ſmall-pox after inoculation. If the horrors of famine ſhould reduce the inhabitants of St. Domingo, or of Martinico, to ſeek for their food in the country, or to devour one another; we are leſs concerned at ſuch a cataſtrophe than at the calamity of a hail-ſtorm, that ſhould have deſtroyed the harveſt in ſome one of our villages. It is natural enough to think, that this indifference is the effect of diſtance, and that the coloniſts are not more affected with our misfortunes than we are with theirs.

But it will be ſaid, that our towns are contiguous to our country places, and that we have the miſery of their inhabitants inceſſantly in our view. We are not the leſs deſirous of plentiful harveſts of all kinds from them, and yet it is ſcarce poſſible, that there ſhould be a greater neglect ſhewn for the encouragement, the multiplication, and the preſervation, of the huſbandmen. From whence can this ſurpriſing contradiction ariſe? It muſt be, that we are mad reſpecting the manner in which we treat our coloniſts, and both inhuman and mad in our conduct with our farmers, ſince both at home and at a diſtance we require the ſame things; and that yet we will not adopt the means of procuring them in either of thoſe places.

But how doth it happen, that this inconſiſtency of the people ſhould likewiſe extend to the government? It is becauſe there is, according to all appearances, a greater ſpirit of

jealouſy than of true intereſt, either in the acquiſition or the preſervation of this ſpecies of diſtant property; it is becauſe the ſovereigns ſcarce reckon the coloniſts as among the number of their ſubjects. I ſhall not ſcruple to declare, ſince it is my opinion, that an irruption of the ſea, which ſhould ſwallow up this portion of their domain, would affect them leſs than the loſs of it from the invaſion of a rival power. They care very little whether theſe men live or die, provided they do not belong to any one elſe.

I ſhall therefore firſt addreſs myſelf to the ſovereigns, and I ſhall tell them,—either leave theſe men to their fate, or aſſiſt them. I ſhall then addreſs myſelf to the coloniſts, and I ſhall ſay,—implore the aſſiſtance of the mother country, to which you are ſubject; and if you ſhould experience a denial, break off your connections with it. It is too much to be obliged to ſupport at once miſery, indifference, and ſlavery.

But wherefore are the colonies worſe regulated, and more unhappy ſtill, under thoſe powers to whoſe ſtrength and ſplendour they are the moſt neceſſary? It is becauſe thoſe powers are ſtill more abſurd than we are; and being commercial ſtates, the ſpirit of their adminiſtration is ſtill more cruel. It is becauſe, in imitation of the farmer, who is not certain of enjoying a new leaſe, they exhauſt a land, which from one year to another may paſs into the hands of a new poſſeſſor. When the provinces of a ſtate are contiguous, thoſe that are neareſt the frontiers are treated with moſt management. It is directly contrary with the colonies. They are oppreſſed, from the ſole apprehenſion, that in circumſtances of a perilous nature the care that might have been beſtowed upon them ſhould be entirely thrown away.

*Settlements formed to the north of St. Domingo.*

The weſtern part of the colony is ſeparated from the northern part by the mole of St. Nicholas, which lies on both coaſts. At the head of the cape is a good, ſafe, and commodious, harbour. It ſtands directly oppoſite to Point Maizi, in the iſland of Cuba, and ſeems naturally deſtined, by this poſition, to become the moſt important poſt in all America for the convenience of navigation. The opening of the bay is 1,450 toiſes broad.

The road leads to the harbour, and the harbour to the baſon. All this great receſs is wholeſome, though the waters of the ſea are almoſt in a ſtate of ſtagnation there. The baſon, which ſeems as if made for the purpoſe of careening, has not the inconvenience of cloſe harbours; it is open to the weſt and north winds; and yet, if they blow ever ſo hard, they can never interrupt or retard any work that is done in the port. The peninſula, where the harbour is ſituated, riſes gradually to the plains, which ſtand upon a very large baſis; it ſeems, as it were, a ſingle mountain, with a broad and flat top, deſcending with a gentle ſlop to unite with the reſt of the iſland.

The mole of St. Nicholas was long neglected by the inhabitants of St. Domingo. The bare hills and flat rocks it abounded with, afforded nothing worth their notice. The uſe which the Engliſh made of it during the laſt war, has rendered it of ſome kind of conſequence. The French miniſtry, enlightened even by their enemies, ſettled in 1767 a ſtaple there, where foreign navigators might freely barter the wood and cattle, of which the colony was in want, for its molaſſes and brandy, which were rejected by the mother country. This communication, which, by a reaſonable toleration, and induſtrious ſmuggling, hath been extended to ſeveral other objects, gave birth to a town, which at preſent conſiſts of three hundred wooden houſes, brought ready built from New England.

At ſome diſtance from the port, but ſtill within the diſtrict of the mole, is the town of Bombardopolis. The Acadians and Germans, who had been carried there in 1763, periſhed at firſt with aſtoniſhing rapidity. This is conſtantly the fate that attends all new ſettlements between the tropics. The few of theſe unfortunate people that have outlived the fatal effects of the climate, and thoſe of diſappointment and poverty, were wiſhing only to quit this barren ſoil, when the tranſactions carried on in their neighbourhood, revived, in ſome meaſure, their hopes. They cultivate proviſions, fruits, and vegetables; which they ſell to the ſhips, or to the inhabitants of the port, and even a ſmall quantity of coffee and cotton for Europe.

The next ſettlement on the north coaſt, after the mole of St. Nicholas, is called Port Paix. It owed its origin to the neighbourhood of Tortuga, whoſe inhabitants took

refuge there when they forſook that iſland. The grounds were cleared ſo early, that this is one of the healthieſt ſpots in St. Domingo, and has long ſince attained the utmoſt degree of riches and population it is capable of; but theſe are not very conſiderable, though induſtry has been carried ſo far as even to pierce through mountains for the conveyance of water to moiſten the grounds. Port Paix is on all ſides ſo difficult of acceſs, that it is in a manner cut off from the reſt of the colony.

The little Saint Louis, the Borgne, Port Margot, Limbé, and Lacul, have likewiſe no communication with each other. Theſe places are divided by rivers, which overflow and ravage the beſt lands. Accordingly, they are in general too cold for ſugar-canes to thrive in them. The waters of theſe torrents ought to be confined in large and deep beds. After theſe labours are finiſhed, it would be an eaſy matter to conſtruct bridges, which would draw the inhabitants nearer together, would enable them to communicate their improvements to each other, and would make them enjoy the advantages of a better regulated ſociety. The plantations of indigo would then be improved, and thoſe of ſugar would be multiplied, while the coffee would not be forſaken; this plant is conſidered as the beſt of the kind in the colony. Limbé alone collects two millions weight of it, as good as that of Martinico.

*Great importance of the town of Cape St. Francis ſituated upon the northern coaſt of St. Domingo.*

THIS is very little, if indeed it be any thing, in compariſon of the productions of the plain of the cape, which is twenty leagues in length, and about four in breadth. Few lands are better watered; but there is not a river where a ſloop can get up above three miles. All this great ſpace is interſected with ſtraight roads forty feet wide, and planted on both ſides with hedges of citron trees. Theſe roads would have been perfect in their kind, had they been ornamented with tall trees, which would have afforded a delightful ſhade for travellers, and prevented that ſcarcity of wood which this diſtrict already begins to feel. This is the country of America which produces the greateſt quantity of ſugar, and of the beſt ſort. The plain is terminated by a ridge of mountains, which varies in

depth from four to eight leagues. Few of them are very high; ſeveral of them may be cultivated to the very ſummit, and they are all interſected at intervals with an infinite number of plantations of coffee, and ſome exceeding fine plantations of indigo.

Although the French had been early acquainted with the value of a territory, the fertility of which ſurpaſſes all that can be ſaid of it, yet they did not begin to cultivate it till 1670, the time when their apprehenſions of the Spaniards, who till then had remained in force in the neighbourhood, were diſſipated. A calvaniſt, named Gobin, one of thoſe whom the ſpirit of intoleration in religious matters began to drive out from their native country, went and reared the firſt habitation at this cape. More houſes were built as the grounds were cleared. This ſettlement had already made ſuch progreſs in the ſpace of twenty years, as to excite the jealouſy of the Engliſh. They joined their forces with thoſe of Spain, and, attacking it both by land and ſea, in 1695, they took, plundered, and reduced it to aſhes.

A great advantage might have been made of this misfortune. Intereſt, which is the primary founder of all colonies, had induced the inhabitants to chooſe, in a harbour that is three leagues in circumference, the foot of a hill for the portion of the cape, becauſe it was the place that lay moſt convenient for the anchorage. A ſituation more wholeſome, more convenient, and more ſpacious, might have been choſen. This was not attended to; but the town was rebuilt, where it ought never to have been built, in a bottom, where the rays of the ſun are rendered more ſcorching by the reflection of the mountains; and which never can be refreſhed by the coolneſs of the land breezes. Yet ſuch is the richneſs of the adjacent country, that this ſettlement hath continually increaſed.

The cape is now cut by twenty-nine ſtraight ſtreets, into 225 cluſters of houſes, which amount to 900; but theſe ſtreets are too narrow, and having no ſlope, though the ſoil itſelf be prominent in the centre, are always dirty; for, as they are paved only in the middle, the kennels, which are not even on each ſide, gather into puddles and common ſewers, inſtead of draining off the waters.

The old ſquare of Notre-Dame, and the church built

with ſtones brought from Europe that terminates it; the new ſquare of Clugny, where the market hath been fixed; the fountains that embelliſh both of theſe monuments; the governor's houſe, the barracks, the theatre; none of theſe public edifices, in a word, would attract the notice of the curious traveller, who ſhould have any idea of the principles of architecture. But if nature had endowed him with ſenſibility, his heart would expand at the bare mention of the houſe called *La Providence.*

Moſt of the adventurers who firſt come into the colony, are deſtitute of reſources and talents, and before they have acquired induſtry to procure ſubſiſtence, become ſubject to diſorders that are often fatal. A humane and generous citizen founded at the cape two habitations for theſe helpleſs and diſtreſſed perſons, where the men and the women are ſeverally provided with every thing they want. This fine inſtitution, the only one of the kind in the New World, and which would never have been ſufficiently ſupported by authority, nor ſufficiently enriched by the gifts of the citizens, had ſeen its revenues gradually decreaſe by the diſhoneſty of thoſe who adminiſtered them, and by the neglect of government.

Is it then impoſſible, that any good inſtitution ſhould ſubſiſt among mankind? Will the rich ſtill continue to attack the poor, even in their aſylum, if the preſence of the gallows doth not reſtrain them! Infamous wretches! ye know not all the atrociouſneſs of your conduct; if one of your fellow-creatures were brought before you, convicted of having ſeized upon a paſſenger in the night time, and of having preſented a piſtol to his breaſt in order to get his purſe, to what kind of puniſhment would you ſentence him? Be it what it may, you deſerve ſtill a greater one. You unite baſeneſs, inhumanity, and prevarication, to the theft; and to what ſpecies of theft; you take from him who is dying with hunger, the bread that has been intruſted to you for his uſe. You ſtrip miſery itſelf abandoned to your care, and you do it clandeſtinely and without riſk. The imprecation which I am going to thunder out againſt you, I extend it to all the diſhoneſt directors of hoſpitals, of whatſoever countries they may be, even of my own; I extend it to all negligent miniſters, from whom they ſhall

conceal the knowledge of their crimes, or who ſhall overlook them. May the ignominy, may the puniſhments reſerved for the vileſt malefactors, fall upon the proſcribed head of villains, who are capable of ſo enormous a crime againſt humanity, and of a flagitious act ſo contrary to good policy; and if it ſhould happen, that they ſhould eſcape from infamy and from puniſhment, may the miniſtry, who have been ignorant of ſuch an exceſs of corruption, or who have tolerated it, become an object of execration among all nations and in all ages.

Notwithſtanding the confuſion into which the houſes of providence, ſo famous for the preſervation of the human ſpecies, are fallen, there are ſtill proportionally a leſs number of people who die at the cape than in any other of the maritime towns of the colony. This advantage muſt be attributed to the circumſtance of the whole territory being cultivated, to the filling up of the neighbouring ſloughs, to diſſipation, to the conveniencies of life, to induſtry, and to ſuccours of all kinds, which are found united in a numerous and active ſociety. The air will acquire all the ſalubrity which the nature of things will allow, when the moraſſes of the little bay ſhall have been dried, which diffuſe, in very dry ſeaſons, an infectious odour.

The harbour is worthy of the town; and it is admirably well adapted to admit the ſhips that come from Europe, which may anchor here with convenience and ſafety, of whatever ſize they may be. It lies open to none but the north-eaſt wind, and cannot even be hurt by this, the entrance being full of reefs, which break the violence of the waves.

It is into this famous ſtaple that more than one half of the productions of the colony are conveyed. They are brought from the mountains and from the valleys, but principally from the plains. The pariſhes which furniſh the moſt important of them are known by the names of the North plain, the Little bay, the Great river, the Morin, the Lemonade, the Terrier Rouge, Fort Dauphin, and Ouanaminthe, which terminates at the river Maſſacre. The diſtrict Morin, and the iſlet of Lemonade, are much ſuperior to the other ſettlements, both in the quantity and quality of their ſugars.

*Nature and quantity of the productions, which France annually receives from its colony of St. Domingo.*

All the productions of St. Domingo amounted, in 1720, to no more than one million four hundred thousand weight of raw sugar, to one million four hundred thousand pounds of earthed sugar, and to one million two hundred thousand pounds of indigo. These productions have had a prodigious and rapid increase. Towards 1737, cotton and coffee were added to them. Even the culture of cacao hath been revived, though somewhat later.

In 1775, France received from this colony, upon three hundred and fifty-three ships, one million two hundred and thirty thousand six hundred and seventy-three quintals seventy pounds of sugar, which were worth 44,738,139 livres 2 sols 2 deniers [about 1,864,089l. 2s. 7d.]; four hundred and fifty-nine thousand three hundred and thirty-nine quintals forty-one pounds of coffee, which were worth 21,818,621 livres 19 sols 6 deniers [909,109l. 4s. 11¼d.]; eighteen thousand eighty quintals twenty-nine pounds of indigo, which were worth 15,373,346 livres 10 sols [640,556l. 2s. 1d.]; five thousand seven hundred eighty-seven quintals sixty-four pounds of cacao, which were worth 405,134 livres 16 sols [16,880l. 12s. 4d.]; five hundred and eighteen quintals sixty-one pounds of arnotto, which were worth 32,663 livres 2 sols 6 deniers [1,360l. 19s. 3¾d.]; twenty-six thousand eight hundred and ninety-two quintals eighty-two pounds of cotton, which were worth 6,723,205 livres [280,133l. 10s. 10d.]; fourteen thousand one hundred and twenty-four hides, which were worth 164,657 livres [6,860l. 14s. 2d.]; forty-three quintals forty-six pounds of rope yarn, which were worth 43,460 livres [1,810l. 16s. 8d.]; ninety quintals nineteen pounds of black cassia, which were worth 2,435 livres 11 deniers [about 101l. 9s. 2½d.]; ninety-two thousand seven hundred and forty-six quintals ninety-two pounds of wood, which were worth 908,368 livres 3 sols 8 deniers [about 37,848l. 13s. 5½d.]; and in small productions, some of which belonged to the other colonies, 1,352,148 livres [56,339l. 10s.] and in money, 2,600,000 livres [108,333l. 6s. 8d.] The total of all these sums produces an income of 94,162,178 livres 16 sols 9 deniers [3,923,424l. 2s. 4¼d.]

If to the 94,162,178 livres 16 ſols 9 deniers [3,923,424l. 2s. 4½d.] the produce of San Domingo, be added the 488,598 livres 3 ſols 3 deniers [about 20,354l. 3s. 5½d.] produced by Cayenne; the 18,975,974 livres 1 ſol 10 deniers [790,664l. 9s. 3d.] produced Martinico; and the 12,751,404 livres 16 ſols 10 deniers [about 531,307l. 10s. 9d.] produced by Guadaloupe, it will be found, that in 1775, France received from her poſſeſſions in the New Hemiſphere, upon five hundred and ſixty-two ſhips 126,378,155 livres 18 ſols 8 deniers [about 5,265,757l. 6s. 3½d.]

The kingdom conſumed of theſe productions only to the amount of 52,763,763 livres 5 ſols 8 deniers [about 2,199,740l. 1s. 8½d.] The remainder, which amounted to 73,584,392 livres 13 ſols [3,066,016l. 17s. 2½d.] was conſequently ſold to foreigners.

This great exportation was formed by one million forty thouſand nine hundred and ninety-eight quintals ſixty-ſix pounds of ſugar, which produced 38,703,463 livres [1,612,644l. 5s. 10d.]; by five hundred thouſand five hundred and eighty-two quintals forty-ſix pounds of coffee, which produced 23,727,608 livres 13 ſols [988,650l. 7s. 2½d.]; by eleven thouſand three hundred and ſix quintals thirty-eight pounds of indigo, which produced 9,610,423 livres [400,434l. 5s. 10d.]; by ſeven thouſand nine hundred and twenty-two quintals ſeventy-five pounds of cacao, which produced 554,592 livres 10 ſols [23,108l. 5d.]; by fifteen hundred and thirty-one quintals ſeventy-eight pounds of arnotto, which produced 95,838 livres [3,993l. 5s. 10d.]; by one thouſand and twenty quintals eleven pounds of cotton, which produced 255,027 livres 10 ſols [10,626l. 2s. 11d.]; by twelve hundred and ſeven quintals fifty-nine pounds of black caſſia, which produced 32,605 livres [1,358l. 10s. 10d.]; by forty-one thouſand eight hundred and eight quintals twenty pounds of wood, which produced 598,723 livres [24,947l. 5s. 10d.]; by five hundred and ſixty-eight hides, which produced 5,112 livres [213l.]; and by one hundred pounds weight of rope yarn, which produced 1,000 livres [41l. 13s. 4d.]

To return to St. Domingo, its aſtoniſhing wealth was produced by three hundred and eighty-five ſugar houſes for raw ſugars, and two hundred and ſixty-three for earthed ſugars; by two thouſand five hundred and eighty-ſeven

plantations of indigo; by fourteen millions eighteen thouſand three hundred and thirty-ſix cotton plants; by ninety-two millions eight hundred and ninety-three thouſand four hundred and five coffee trees; and by ſeven hundred and fifty-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-one cacao trees.

At the ſame period, the cattle of the colony amounted to ſeventy-five thouſand nine hundred and fifty-eight horſes or mules, and ſeventy-ſeven thouſand nine hundred and four head of horned cattle. Its proviſions conſiſted of ſeven million ſeven hundred and fifty-ſix thouſand two hundred and twenty-five banana trees; one million one hundred and ſeventy-eight thouſand two hundred and twenty-nine trenches of manioc; twelve thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-four plots of maize; eighteen thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-eight plots of potatoes; eleven thouſand eight hundred and twenty-five plots of yams; and ſeven thouſand forty-ſix plots of ſmall millet.

The labours occupied thirty-two thouſand and fifty white perſons, of all ages, and of both ſexes; ſix thouſand and thirty-ſix negroes, or free mulattoes, and about three hundred thouſand ſlaves. The annual calculation did not indeed reckon the number of theſe unfortunate captives at more than two hundred forty thouſand and ninety-five; but it is well known, that at that time every planter concealed as many as he could from the reſearches of the treaſury, in order to avoid the rigour of the impoſts.

Theſe cultures, and theſe inhabitants, are diſtributed over forty-ſix pariſhes, ſome of which are twenty leagues in circumference. The limits of a great number of them are not yet fixed, and moſt of them have nothing but huts or ruins for their churches. Divine ſervice is ſcarce performed in any of them with proper decency. The churches of the ſouth and of the weſtern parts are under the direction of dominican friars, and thoſe of the north under capuchins, who have ſucceeded the jeſuits. They have all a large village or a town belonging to them.

The large villages are formed by the ſhops of ſome merchants, and by the manufactories of ſome artificers, all of them conſtructed round the preſbytery. On feſtival days a kind of market is eſtabliſhed, to which the ſlaves reſort, in order to barter the fruits, the poultry, and other trifling

* Who counts the blacks as a wild tribe?

proviſions which belong to them, for furniture, clothes, and ornaments, which, though of ſmall value, procure them ſome kind of convenience, and diſtinguiſh them from their fellow creatures, who are not in poſſeſſion of ſimilar enjoyments. We cannot ſufficiently expreſs our indignation, that tyranny ſhould ſtill purſue them while they are employed in theſe trifling exchanges, and that the vile ſatellites of juſtice, intruſted with the regulation of the police of theſe aſſemblies, ſhould make theſe unfortunate people ſenſible of the hardſhips of their ſituation, even during the ſhort reſpite which is granted them by their barbarous maſters.

Here we may perceive two very odious characters; the bailiff who torments the ſlave, and the director who doth not exerciſe his authority againſt the bailiff. But the bailiff is a man devoid of compaſſion, whoſe daily functions have perhaps hardened him to ſuch a pitch, that he grows weary when the exerciſe of them is ſuſpended, and when he has no opportunity of making any one ſuffer. The director, on the contrary, is a magiſtrate, whoſe breaſt doth *not* harbour the ſame degree of ferociouſneſs, whoſe habitual buſineſs it is to diſplay a kind of dignity, and in whom juſtice ought always to be tempered with compaſſion. How doth it happen, that two ſuch different beings ſeem to concur in adding to the misfortune of the ſlaves? Is it owing to a barbarous contempt of theſe miſerable people, who are almoſt expunged from the race of mankind? Or are they ſo completely doomed to grief and pain, that their cries and their tears ſhall not make any further impreſſion?

The towns of the colony, and in general all thoſe of the American iſlands, exhibit a picture very different from that which the European towns diſplay. In Europe, our cities are peopled with men of every claſs, of all profeſſions, and of all ages; ſome of them rich and idle, others poor and laborious; all of them purſuing, amidſt the tumult and amidſt the multitude, the object which they have in view; ſome following pleaſure, others fortune; ſome reputation, or momentary fame, which is often miſtaken for it, and others ſeeking their ſubſiſtence. In theſe great vortices, the colliſion and variety of paſſions, of intereſts, and of wants, neceſſarily produce great agitations, unexpected

contrasts, some virtues, and many vices or crimes. These are moving pictures, more or less animated in proportion to the number of actors, and consequently of scenes that are exhibited there. At St. Domingo, and in the rest of the American archipelago, the spectacle presented by the towns is uniform, and exactly the same. They have neither nobles, tradesmen, nor annuitants. They present nothing but magazines appropriated to the productions of the soil, and to the different labours they require. They have none but agents, inn-keepers, and adventurers, exerting themselves to obtain a post by which they may subsist, and accepting the first that offers. Every man is in haste to get rich, in order to quit a situation where there are no distinctions, no honours, no pleasures, to be found, and which supplies no other stimulus beside that of interest. No man resides there with an intention of living and dying upon the spot. The views of all men are fixed upon Europe; and the principal idea that tends to the increase of riches, consists in the expectation, more or less distant, of bringing them back into our hemisphere, among our own relations.

*Connections of St. Domingo with foreign nations.*

Besides the immense productions which the colony sends to the mother country, and which may at least be increased by one third, a small portion of them are delivered to its indolent neighbour. It is with sugar, rum, and especially with liquors and the manufactures of Europe, that the colony pays what the Spanish part of St. Domingo furnishes in pork and hung beef, in wood, hides, horses, and horned cattle, for its manufactures, and for its shambles; and that it appropriates to itself all the silver sent from the mines of Mexico to this ancient settlement. The court of Madrid have endeavoured to diminish the activity of this intercourse, by prohibiting the foreign merchandize from being brought into its possessions, and by loading the cattle which might be exported, with heavy duties. This faulty regulation hath had no other effect than to put a restraint upon those exchanges which ought to have continued perfectly free. It is particularly in this part of the world, that mutual wants prevail over natural

antipathy, and that the uniformity of climate ſtifles this ſource of diſcord.

The Dutch of Curaſſou engroſs a great part of the trade of the French colony, during the wars in which they are not engaged; and they likewiſe carry off ſome commodities in peace time. It is with the productions of the East-Indies, and with bills of exchange, that they keep up this trifling intercourſe.

The connections between the people of Jamaica and thoſe of St. Domingo, are much more conſiderable. The twelve or thirteen thouſand ſlaves which are annually carried to the colony by the French navigators, do not prevent its receiving four or five thouſand from the Engliſh. The latter coſt one ſixth leſs than the other, and are paid with cotton, and eſpecially with indigo, which is accepted at a higher price than is given by the national trade. Theſe ſmugglers carry it into their own country, as a production of the Britiſh iſlands, and receive a gratification of twelve ſols [6d.] per pound.

It is with North America, however, that St. Domingo keeps up a more regular and more uſeful intercourſe. In times of urgent calamities, the veſſels of that vaſt region of the New World are admitted in all the harbours, but at ordinary times only in the mole of St. Nicholas. In common times, their cargoes conſiſt of wood for ſhip building, vegetables, cattle, flour, and ſalt fiſh. They carry off publicly five-and-twenty or thirty thouſand hogſheads of molaſſes, and fraudulently, all the proviſions which the coloniſts can deliver to them, or chooſe to do it.

*The connections of France with St. Domingo become dangerous during times of war. Reaſon of this.*

Such is, in time of peace, the diviſion which is made of the territorial riches of St. Domingo. War opens a new ſcene. As ſoon as the ſignal for hoſtilities is given, the Engliſh take poſſeſſion of all the latitudes about the colony. They reſtrain its exports and its imports. Every article, either entering or going out, falls into their hands; and the ſmall quantity which might have eſcaped in the New Hemiſphere, is intercepted upon the coaſts of the Old, where the enemy are equally ſtrong.

The merchants of the mother country are then obliged to poſtpone their expeditions, and the inhabitants of the iſland neglect their labours. Languor and deſpair ſucceed to important and rapid communications, and laſt as long as the diviſions ſubſiſt between the belligerent powers.

This would have been otherwiſe, had the French, who firſt appeared at St. Domingo, thought of eſtabliſhing cultures. They would have occupied, as they might have done, that part of the iſland which lies to the eaſt. The plains on this ſide are ſpacious and fertile; and the coaſts are ſafe; a ſhip enters the harbours upon the day they are diſcovered, and loſes ſight of them the very day it ſails out. Such is the nature of the road, that the enemy cannot lay any ambuſcade there. The coaſt is unfit for cruizing. Theſe latitudes are convenient for the Europeans, and the paſſage expeditious; but as the ſcheme of theſe adventurers was to attack the Spaniſh ſhips, and to infeſt the gulf of Mexico with their piracies, the poſſeſſions they occupied upon a winding coaſt, were ſurrounded by Cuba, Jamaica, the Turks, Tortuga, the Caicos, Gonava, and Lucayos iſlands. They are alſo ſurrounded by a multitude of ſand-banks and rocks, which make the progreſs of a ſhip ſlow and uncertain; and by narrow ſeas, which muſt give a great advantage to the enemy, either for landing, for blocking up, or for cruizing.

The court of Verſailles will never be able to maintain a regular intercourſe with its colony during time of war, unleſs by the means of ſome ſhips of the line to the ſouth and the weſt, and a good ſquadron to the north. Nature hath formed, at Fort Dauphin, a vaſt, commodious, and ſafe harbour, which can be defended with facility. From this harbour, ſituated to the windward of the other ſettlements, it would be eaſy to protect the ſeveral latitudes; but the works of the place ought to be repaired and extended, and particularly a proper naval arſenal ought to be formed. If this were done, the French admirals, being ſecure of an aſylum, and of all the neceſſary aſſiſtances, after either a ſucceſsful or an unſucceſsful engagement, would be no longer fearful of engaging the enemies of their country.

*The part of St. Domingo occupied by the French, may be attacked by the Spaniards, who are in poſſeſſion of the other part.*

THE meaſures which would be proper to be taken to prevent the ravages which the Spaniards might commit in the inland part of St. Domingo, deſerve likewiſe ſome attention.

Caſtile, which is ſtill in poſſeſſion of two thirds of the iſland, formerly had the whole of it, when, a little before the middle of the laſt century, a few bold and enterpriſing Frenchmen went there to ſeek a refuge from the laws, or from miſery. The Spaniards endeavoured to repulſe them; but, though without any other ſupport than their courage, they were not afraid of ſuſtaining war with a people armed under a regular authority. Theſe men were acknowledged by their nation as ſoon as they were thought ſtrong enough to maintain themſelves in their uſurpations. A commander was ſent to them. The brave man, who was firſt appointed to command thoſe intrepid adventurers, caught their ſpirit to ſuch a degree, as to propoſe to his court the conqueſt of the whole iſland. He pledged his life for the ſucceſs of the undertaking, provided they would ſend him a ſquadron ſtrong enough to block up the harbour of the capital.

The miniſtry of Verſailles, neglecting a project which was in reality more practicable than it appeared to them at a diſtance, left the French expoſed to continual hoſtilities. Notwithſtanding this, they always repulſed them ſucceſsfully, and even carried devaſtation into the enemy's country; but thoſe animoſities kept up in their minds a ſpirit of robbery and plunder, indiſpoſed them for uſeful labours, and ſtopped the progreſs of agriculture, which ſhould be the ultimate end of every well regulated ſociety.

The error which France had fallen into, in not ſeconding the ardour of the new coloniſts for the conqueſt of the whole iſland, had nearly occaſioned her the loſs of that part of which ſhe was already in poſſeſſion. While the French were engaged in carrying on the war of 1688 againſt all Europe, the Spaniards and the Engliſh, who both dreaded ſeeing them firmly eſtabliſhed at St. Domingo, united their forces to expel them. Their firſt attempts gave them reaſon to expect an entire ſucceſs; when they quarelled with each other, and from that time became irreconcilable enemies. Ducaſſe, who managed the colony with much ſagacity and

great reputation, took advantage of their diviſions to attack them ſucceſſively. He firſt invaded Jamaica, where he deſtroyed every thing with fire and ſword. From thence he was preparing to turn his arms againſt St. Domingo; and would infallibly have reduced the whole iſland, had he not been ſtopped in this expedition by orders from his court.

The houſe of Bourbon aſcended the throne of Spain, and the French nation loſt all hopes of conquering St. Domingo. Hoſtilities, which had not even been ſuſpended there by the treaties of Aix-la Chapelle, Nimeguen, and Ryſwick, ceaſed at laſt between people who could never be true friends to each other. Thoſe who had eſtabliſhed cultures derived ſome advantage from this reconciliation. For ſome time paſt their ſlaves, availing themſelves of the national diviſions, had ſhaken off their chains, and removed into a diſtrict where they found freedom and no labour. This deſertion was abated, by the Spaniards entering into a contract to bring home the fugitives to their neighbours, for the ſum of 250 livres [10l. 8s. 4d.] a-head. Although this agreement was not very ſcrupulouſly obſerved, it proved a powerful check, till the diſſenſions that divided the two nations in 1718. At this period the negroes deſerted their works in multitudes. This loſs induced the French to think of reviving their old project of expelling totally from the iſland ſuch neighbours, who were equally dangerous from their indolence, as others would be from their turbulent ſpirit. The war did not laſt long enough to bring about this revolution. At the concluſion of the peace, Philip V gave orders for the reſtitution of all the fugitives that could be found. They were juſt embarked, to be ſent to their old maſters, when the people roſe and reſcued them; an act which we could hardly diſapprove, had they been prompted to it by humanity, rather than by national hatred. It will always be pleaſing to ſee people excited to rebellion on account of the ſlavery of the negroes. Thoſe who were reſcued on this occaſion, fled into inacceſſible mountains, where they have ſince multiplied to ſuch a degree, as to be able to afford a ſafe retreat to all the ſlaves that can find means to join them. There, in conſequence of the cruelty of civilized nations, they become as free and as ſavage as tygers; in expectation, perhaps, of a chief and a conqueror, who may reſtore the violated rights of mankind, by ſeizing

upon an island which seems to have been intended for the slaves who till the ground, and not for the tyrants who water it with the blood of those victims.

The present system of politics will not allow France and Spain to be at war with each other. Should any event occasion a rupture between the two nations, notwithstanding the compact between the two crowns, it would probably be but a transient quarrel, that would not allow time for projecting conquests which must soon be restored. The enterprises on both sides would, therefore, be confined to the ravaging of the country; and in this case the nation that does not cultivate, at least at St. Domingo, would prove formidable, by its very poverty, to that which has already made some progress in the culture of its lands. A Castilian governor was so sensible of this, that he once wrote to the French commandant, that, if he forced him to an invasion, he would destroy more in the compass of one league, than the French could, if they were to lay waste all the country he commanded.

Hence it is demonstrable, that, if a war should break out in Europe between these two powers, the most active of them ought to sue for a neutrality in favour of this island. It ought even, as it hath often been said, to solicit the absolute cession of a possession which is useless, or burthensome, to its possessor. We know not whether the court of Versailles have ever entertained this ambitious idea. But how much must we suppose that the Spanish ministry would have been averse from this cession, when they have stated so many difficulties respecting the fixing of the confused and uncertain limits of the two nations! This treaty, ardently desired, projected for a long time, and even begun at several intervals, hath been at length concluded in 1776.

*Have the limits between France and Spain, been judiciously settled at St. Domingo?*

The only equitable and reasonable basis of these negociations, should have been the state of these possessions in 1700.

At this period both nations, being upon friendly terms, remained the just owners of the lands they then possessed. The encroachments made during the course of this century, by the subjects of

one of the crowns, are the encroachments of individuals upon each other; they are not become lawful poſſeſſors by being tolerated; and the rights of both powers are ſtill the ſame, ſince they have not been abrogated, directly or indirectly, by any convention.

But it is certain, from inconteſtible facts, that in the beginning of this century, the French poſſeſſions, which are now bounded on the northern coaſt by the river of Maſſacre, extended then to the river Rebone. Thoſe of the ſouthern coaſt, which had been carried on as far as the river of Neybe, have been at preſent ſtopped at the inlet of Pitre. This ſurpriſing revolution is the natural conſequence of the economical ſyſtem of the two neighbouring nations. The one which has applied itſelf chiefly to agriculture, has collected all its poſſeſſions towards the moſt frequented ports, where the produce might be moſt certainly and advantageouſly diſpoſed of. The other, whoſe ſubjects have always continued ſhepherds, took poſſeſſion of all the lands that were abandoned, for the breeding of more cattle. The paſtures have naturally been enlarged, and the fields contracted, or at leaſt brought cloſer together.

A negociation properly conducted, would have reſtored France to that ſituation in which it was when it gave a king to the Spaniards. This was the wiſh of equity and of reaſon; which were not deſirous that active coloniſts, who render the land which they fertilize uſeful, ſhould be ſacrificed to a ſmall number of vagabonds, who conſume, without aſſiſting in theſe productions. Nevertheleſs, from motives of policy, the ſprings of which are unknown to us, the court of Verſailles have given up what they formerly poſſeſſed, and confined themſelves to what they were in actual poſſeſſion of, upon the borders of the ſea, at the time of the convention. But hath this power at leaſt regained in the inland parts what it hath ſacrificed upon the coaſt? We are under the neceſſity of declaring, that it hath not received the ſmalleſt indemnity.

Before the treaty, the French colony formed a kind of creſcent, the convexity of which produced, around the mountains, an extent of two hundred and fifty leagues of coaſt to the north, to the weſt, and to the ſouth, of the iſland. The ſame arrangement ſubſiſts ſince the limits have

been ſettled; ſooner or later it muſt be changed, for a reaſon which muſt prevail over all other conſiderations.

The French ſettlements, to the weſt and the ſouth, are divided from thoſe to the north by the Spaniſh territory. The impoſſibility of ſuccouring each other, expoſes them ſeparately to the invaſion of a power which is equally an enemy to both nations. Common intereſt will determine the court of Madrid to fix the limits in ſuch a manner, that her ally may meet with the aſſiſtance that may be wanted for her defence. But this can never be, unleſs a line be drawn from the two fixed points upon the banks of the ocean, which ſhall determine the property of the two people. In vain would Spain perpetually grant to its neighbour the liberty of paſſing through its ſtates, as it did in 1748, for a time; this complaiſance would be of no uſe. That ſpace, of fifteen or twenty leagues, is interſected with mountains ſo ſteep, foreſts ſo thick, ravins ſo deep, and rivers ſo irregular in their courſe, as to render it impracticable for an army to paſs through it in its preſent ſituation. Immenſe labours would be requiſite to render it uſeful, and thoſe will never be executed, unleſs by orders of the crown to which the domain belongs. The court of Madrid will the more readily determine to cede this communication, ſo neceſſary to a nation whoſe intereſts are the ſame as their own, as the intermediate territory is of little value. It is rugged, not very fertile, and at a great diſtance from the ſea. A few ſcattered flocks only are ſeen upon it. The proprietors of theſe uncultivated lands would be indemnified by France, with a generoſity which would leave them no room to regret what they had loſt.

*Means which the French part of St. Domingo hath to protect itſelf from foreign invaſions.*

When the poſſeſſions of the colony are thus connected and ſupported internally, by an uninterrupted chain of communication, the enemy will be more eaſily repulſed. If the Engliſh mean to attack St. Domingo by the weſt or ſouth, they will collect their forces at Jamaica; if by the north, they will make their preparations at the Windward iſlands, and moſt probably at Antigua, which is the magazine of their naval ſtores.

The weſt and ſouth are incapable of being defended. The immenſe extent of the tract renders it impoſſible to maintain any connection or regularity in the motion of the troops. If they ſhould be diſperſed, they would become uſeleſs by being thus divided; if they ſhould be collected for the defence of ſuch poſts as are moſt liable to be attacked, from the natural weakneſs of their poſition, they would be in danger of being all loſt together. Large battalions would only be burthenſome to ſuch extenſive coaſts, which preſent too much flank and too much front to the enemy. It will only be neceſſary to erect, or keep up, batteries to protect the roads, the merchant ſhips, and the coaſting trade; to keep off privateers, and even to prevent the landing of a man of war or two, that might come to ravage the coaſt, and levy contributions. The light troops, which are ſufficient to ſupport theſe batteries, will give ground in proportion to the advances of the enemy, and only take care to avoid ſurrendering till they are in danger.

But it is not neceſſary to relinquiſh every kind of defence. At the back of each coaſt, there ſhould be a place for ſhelter and for reinforcements; always open for retreat, out of the enemy's reach, ſafe from inſults, and able to reſiſt their attack. This ſhould be a narrow paſs, capable of being intrenched, and of defending the troops to advantage. From theſe impregnable retreats, the conqueror might continually be haraſſed; who, having no ſtrong hold, will be perpetually expoſed to a ſurpriſe, and will ſooner or later be obliged to reimbark.

The northern coaſt, richer, more populous, and leſs extenſive, than the other two, is more adapted to ſupport a land war, and to make a regular defence.

The ſea ſide, which is more or leſs full of reefs, affords in many places a ſwampy ground; and the mangroves which cover theſe marſhes, make them quite impenetrable. This natural defence is not ſo common as it was, ſince many of theſe coppices have been cut away. But the landing places, which are commonly no better than gaps, flanked by theſe woods overflowed with water, require but a moderate front to ſtop them up. Magazines, and other ſtone buildings, are common there; they furniſh poſts for the erection of

battlements, and ſecure the placing of ſome maſked batteries.

This firſt line of the ſhore ſeems to promiſe, that a coaſt of eighteen leagues, ſo well defended by nature, would, when ſeconded by the valour of the French, put the enemy in danger of being beaten the moment they ſhould land. If their ſchemes were diſcovered, or if the diſpoſitions they were making at ſea ſhould, from a diſtance, point out the place of their landing, the forces might repair thither and prevent it. But experience ſhews the infallible advantage of ſquadrons at anchor.

It is not only by the firing of broadſides from the ſhips to cover the approach of boats, it is by the impoſſibility there is of guarding every part of the coaſt, that a ſquadron at anchor can eaſily effect landing, as it is a conſtant check to ſo many places at once. Land forces move very ſlowly about the windings of the coaſt, while the boats and ſloops arrive ſpeedily by a ſhorter way. The aſſailant follows the ſtring, while the other muſt go all along the bow. Diſappointed and wearied out with a variety of motions, the latter is not leſs apprehenſive of thoſe he ſees in the day-time, than of the manœuvres of the night which he cannot ſee.

In order to be able to oppoſe a deſcent, the firſt thing to be done is to ſuppoſe it actually accompliſhed; all our courage and ſtrength is then exerted in taking advantage of the delays or miſtakes of the enemy. As ſoon as they are obſerved at ſea, they may immediately be expected on land. A large ſhore, on which a landing may be effected, will always leave the plain of the cape open to invaſion; ſo that the chief attention muſt be directed, not to the ſea ſhore, but to the inland parts.

The inland parts are in general covered with ſugar canes, which being more or leſs high, according to their degree of maturity ſucceſſively make the fields appear ſo many thickets. Theſe are occaſionally ſet on fire, either to cover a march, or to retard the enemy's purſuit, to deceive or aſtoniſh him. In two hours time, inſtead of fields covered with crops, nothing is to be ſeen but an immenſe waſte, covered with ſtubble.

The partitions of the cane grounds, the ſavannahs, and the ſtorehouſes for proviſions, do not obſtruct the motions

of an army more than our meadows. Inſtead of our villages, they have their habitations, which are not ſo full of people, but are more numerous. The thick and ſtraight hedges of citron trees are cloſer and more impenetrable than the fences that incloſe our fields. This is what conſtitutes the greateſt differenee in the view of the fields of America and thoſe of Europe.

A ſmall number of rivers, ſome hollow ways, very low hillocs, a ſoil generally even, ſome dikes conſtructed againſt inundations, few ditches, if any, one or two foreſts, not very thick ſet with trees, a ſmall number of moraſſes, a ground that is overflowed in a ſtorm, and grows duſty again with twelve hours ſunſhine, rivers that are full one day, and dried up the next; theſe are the general appearances of the plain of the cape. This diverſity muſt afford advantageous encampments, and it muſt ever be remembered, that in a defenſive war, the poſt one removes to, cannot be too near the one that is quitted.

It is not the province of a writer to preſcribe rules to military men. Cæſar himſelf has told us what he has done, not what we are to do. Topographical deſcriptions, determining the goodneſs of ſuch or ſuch a poſt, the combination of marches, the art of encampments and retreats, the moſt learned theory; all theſe muſt be ſubmitted to the eye of the general, who, with the principles in his mind, and the materials in his hand, applies both to the circumſtances of time and place, as they chance to occur. The military genius, though mathematical, is dependent on fortune, which ſuits the order of the operations to the diverſity of appearances. Rules are liable to numberleſs exceptions, which muſt be diſcovered in the inſtant. The very execution almoſt always alters the plan, and diſcompoſes the ſyſtem of an action. The courage or timidity of the troops, the raſhneſs of the enemy, the caſual ſucceſs of his meaſures, an accidental combat, an unforeſeen event, a ſtorm that ſwells a torrent, a high wind that conceals a ſnare or an ambuſcade under clouds of duſt, thunder that frightens the horſes, or is confounded with the report of the cannon, the temperature of the air, which conſtantly influences the ſpirits of the commander and the blood of the ſoldiers: all theſe are ſo many natural or moral cauſes,

which, by their uncertainty, may ove rturn the beſt concerted projects.

Whatever place is made choice of for a deſcent at St. Domingo, the town of the cape will always be the object of it. The landing will be ſomewhere in the bay of the cape, where the ſhips will be ready to augment the land forces with two thirds of their crews, and to furniſh them with artillery, ammunition, and whatever they may want for the ſiege of that opulent fortreſs. It is towards this bulwark of the colony that all endeavours to keep off the aſſailer muſt be directed. The choice of advantageous poſitions will, in ſome meaſure, compenſate for the inequality of numbers. At the moment of landing, the ground muſt be diſputed by ſupporting a kind of falſe attack, without engaging the whole of the troops. Theſe muſt be poſted in ſuch a manner as to ſecure two retreats, the one towards the cape, to form the garriſon of that place, the other in the narrow paſſes of the mountains, where they will keep an intrenched camp, from whence they may annoy the beſiegers, and retard the taking of the place. Should the place ſurrender, as it would be an eaſy matter to favour the evaſion of the troops when they evacuate it, the conqueſt would not yet be completed. The mountains in which they would take refuge, inacceſſible to an army, ſurround the plain with a double or treble chain, and guard the inhabited parts, by very narrow paſſes, which may be eaſily defended. The principal of theſe is the defile of the great river, where the enemy would find two or three paſſes of the river, that reach from one mountain to the other. In this place four or five hundred men would ſtop the moſt numerous army, by only ſinking the bed of the waters. This reſiſtance might be ſeconded by 25,000 inhabitants, both white and black, who are ſettled in theſe valleys. As the white men are more numerous here than upon the richer lands, and their crops are ſmaller, they cannot afford to conſume any great quantity of the produce of Europe, ſo that what they cultivate is chiefly for their own ſubſiſtence; from this they might eaſily ſupply the troops that ſhould defend their country. Any deficiency in the article of freſh meat could be made up by the Spaniards, who breed vaſt quantities of cattle on the backs of theſe mountains.

After all, it may happen that the firmneſs of the troops may be ſunk under the want of proviſions or warlike ſtores, and they may be either forced or turned back. This ſuggeſted the idea ſome years ago at Verſailles, of building a fortified town in the centre of the mountains. Marſhal Noailles was a warm advocate for this ſcheme. It was then imagined, that by means of ſome redoubts of earth ſcattered upon different parts of the coaſt, the enemy might be enticed by regular attacks, and inſenſibly exhauſted by the loſs of a great number of men, in a climate where ſickneſs ſuddenly proves more deſtructive than the ſword. It was ſuggeſted that no more ſtrong holds ſhould be erected on the frontiers, where they lie expoſed to the invaſion of the maſters of the ſea; becauſe, while they are unable to defend their own habitations, they become ſo many bulwarks for the conquerors, who can eaſily take and guard them with their ſhips, and depoſe or draw from thence arms and men to intimidate the vanquiſhed. An entirely open country was better, in their opinion, for a power that has no maritime ſtrength, than forces diſperſed and forſaken upon ſhores, waſted and depopulated by the inclemency of the climate.

It was in the centre of the iſland that the ſtrongeſt place of defence was expected to be made. A road of twenty or thirty leagues, full of obſtacles, where every march muſt be attended with ſeveral engagements, in which the advantage of the poſts would render a detachment formidable to a whole army; where the removing of the artillery would be tedious and laborious; where the difficulty of convoys, and the diſtance of communication with the ocean; where every thing, in ſhort, would conſpire to deſtroy the enemy: ſuch was to be, as it were, the glacis of the intended fortification. This capital was to ſtand upon high ground, where the air is more pure and temperate than in the plains beneath; in the midſt of a country which would ſupply the town with neceſſaries; ſurrounded with flocks and herds, which, feeding upon a ſoil moſt favourable to their increaſe, would be reſerved for times of want; provided with ſtore-houſes proportioned to the town and garriſon; ſuch a city would have changed the colony into a kingdom, able to ſupport itſelf for a long time; whereas its preſent opulence does but weaken it, and having ſuperfluities without neceſ-

ſaries, it enriches a few proprietors, without affording them ſuſtenance.

If the enemy had made themſelves maſters of the ſea coaſt, which would not be diſputed with them, and were deſirous of collecting the produce of the lands, they would ſtand in need of whole armies to keep merely upon the defenſive; for the continual excurſions from the centre would not permit them to do more than this. The troops in the inland parts of the iſland, always ſure of a reſpectable retreat, might eaſily be relieved by recruits from Europe, which would find no difficulty in penetrating to the centre of a circle of ſo immenſe a circumference; whereas all the Engliſh fleets would not be ſufficient to fill up the vacancies which the climate would be continually making in their garriſons.

Notwithſtanding the evidence of theſe advantages, the project of a fortification in the mountains has been dropt, and a ſyſtem purſued, which would confine the whole defence of the iſland to the mole of St. Nicholas. This new plan could not fail of being applauded by the planters, who were not fond of citadels and garriſons near their plantations, as they are more injurious than they can poſſibly be beneficial to them. They are ſenſible, that the whole force being directed to one point, they ſhould have none but light troops left in their neighbourhood, on the three coaſts, which are ſufficient to drive away the privateers by the aſſiſtance of their batteries; and are, beſides, very convenient defenders, ever ready to yield without reſiſtance, and to diſperſe or capitulate on the leaſt intimation of an invaſion.

This plan, ſo favourable to private intereſt, has alſo met with the approbation of ſome perſons well verſed in military affairs. They were of opinion, that the few troops which the colony will admit of, being in a manner loſt in ſo large an iſland as St. Domingo, would make an appearance at the mole. Bombardopolis is the place that has been choſen, as the moſt reſpectable poſt. This new city ſtands on the margin of a plain, which is ſufficiently elevated to render it cool and temperate. Its territory is covered with a natural ſavannah, and adorned with groves of palm trees of various kinds. It is not commanded; which is an uncommon circumſtance at St. Domingo. It might be made a regu-

lar fortification, and of any degree of ſtrength. If it did not prevent an invaſion, it would, at leaſt, prevent the conquerors from getting a firm eſtabliſhment upon the coaſts.

It were to be wiſhed, ſays the partizans of this new ſyſtem, that from the firſt moment the works had been begun at the mole, it had at the ſame time been fortified to the degree that ſo advantageous a ſituation would admit of. It is a treaſure, the poſſeſſion of which ſhould have been ſecured as ſoon as it was diſcovered. Should this valuable key of St. Domingo, and, indeed, of all America, fall into the hands of the Engliſh, this Gibralter of America would be more fatal to France and Spain than even that of Europe.

It is no wonder, if all the precautions which have been taken hitherto for the defence of St. Domingo, have been conducted with ſo little judgment. As long as forecaſt and protection ſhall be confined to ſecondary means, which can only protract, not prevent, the conqueſt of this iſland, no invariable plan can be purſued. Fixed principles are the excluſive privilege of ſuch powers as can depend upon their naval force, to prevent the loſs, or ſecure the recovery, of their colonies. Thoſe of France have not hitherto been guarded by thoſe floating arſenals, which can at the ſame time attack and defend; but this power hath at length been rouſed, and its navy is becoming formidable. But does ſhe govern her poſſeſſions abroad by the maxims of ſound policy and good order? This is what we ſhall next inquire into.

The Britiſh government, ever actuated by the national ſpirit, which ſeldom deviates from the true intereſts of the ſtate, has carried into the New World that right of property which is the ground-work of her legiſlation. From a conviction, that man never thinks he has the entire poſſeſſion of any thing but what he has lawfully acquired, they have, indeed, ſold the lands in the iſlands, but at a very moderate price, to ſuch as were willing to clear them. This hath appeared the ſureſt way to haſten the cultivation of them; and to prevent partialities and jealouſies, the neceſſary conſequences of a diſtribution guided by caprice or favour.

*Is the right of property well eſtabliſhed in the French iſlands?*

FRANCE has taken a method ſeemingly more generous, but not ſo prudent, that of granting lands to all who applied for them. In the infant ſtate of theſe colonies, a vagabond went into the midſt of the foreſts and marked out the ſpace of greater or leſs extent, which he choſe to occupy, and fixed its limits by cutting down trees all around it.

This confuſion could not laſt long, and yet authority did not chooſe to ſtrip thoſe who had thus ſettled their own rights. It was ordained only, that for the future there ſhould be no legitimate property but that which was granted by the adminiſtrators. Protection became then the only rule of the diſtributions, without any regard to talents or to means. Indeed it was ſtipulated, that they ſhould begin their ſettlements within a year after the grant, and not diſcontinue the clearing of the ground, upon pain of forfeiture. But, beſide the hardſhip of requiring thoſe men to be at the expence of clearing the land, who could not afford to purchaſe, the penalty fell upon thoſe only, who, not having the advantage of family and fortune, could not make intereſt with the great; or upon minors, who being left deſtitute by the death of their parents, ought rather to have been aſſiſted by the public; whereas every proprietor who was well recommended or ſupported, was not called to account, though he let his grounds lie fallow.

To this partiality, which evidently retarded the progreſs of the colonies, we may add a number of ill-judged regulations relative to cultivation. Firſt, it was required of every perſon who obtained a grant of land, to plant 500 trenches of manioc for every ſlave he had upon his plantation. This order was equally detrimental both to private and public intereſt, as it compelled the planter to encumber his ground with this ordinary production, when it was able to yield richer crops; and rendered the poor grounds, which were only fit for this kind of culture, uſeleſs. This double error could not but leſſen the growth of all kinds of commodities; and indeed, this law, which laid a reſtraint upon the diſpoſal of property, has never been ſtrictly put in execution; but as it has alſo never been repealed, it ſtill remains a ſcourge in the hand of an ignorant, capricious, or violent, miniſter, who may chooſe to make uſe of it againſt the in-

habitants. This evil, great as it is, is, however, the leaſt of thoſe they have to complain of from adminiſtration. The reſtraint of the agrarian law is ſtill increaſed by the burthen of labours impoſed upon the vaſſals.

There was a time in Europe, that of the feudal government, when gold and ſilver were little regarded in public or private tranſactions. The nobles ſerved the ſtate, not with their purſes, but with their perſons; and thoſe of their vaſſals, who were their property by right of conqueſt, paid them a kind of quit-rent or homage, either in the fruits of the earth, or in ſo much labour. Theſe cuſtoms, ſo deſtructive to men and lands, tended to perpetuate that barbarity to which they owed their riſe. But at length they were gradually laid aſide, as the authority of kings prevailed in overthrowing the independence and tyranny of the great, by reſtoring freedom to the people. The prince, now become the ſole maſter, aboliſhed, as a magiſtrate, ſome abuſes ariſing from the right of war, which deſtroys every other right. But ſeveral of theſe uſurpations, which time had conſecrated, were ſtill retained. That of the average, or a certain proportion of labour required of the vaſſals, has been kept up in ſome ſtates, where the nobles have loſt almoſt every advantage, though the people have not acquired any. The liberty of France is at this day infringed by this public bondage; and this injuſtice has been reduced into a ſyſtem, as if to give it a colour of juſtice.

Who would imagine that in the moſt enlightened age of the nation, at a time when the rights of man have been moſt rigidly diſcuſſed, when the principles of natural morality have no longer been contradicted, under the reign of a beneficent king, under humane miniſters, and under upright magiſtrates; who would imagine, that it ſhould have been pretended to be conſiſtent with the order of juſtice and agreeable to the conſtitution of the ſtate, that a ſet of unhappy people who have no property ſhould be dragged from their huts, taken from their repoſe, or from their labours, they, their wives, their children, and their cattle, in order to go and exhauſt themſelves after long fatigues in labours of a new kind; in the conſtruction of roads more pompous than they are uſeful, for the benefit of thoſe who poſſeſs every thing, and this without pay and without food?

O men! whoſe hearts are of ſteel, go one ſtep further, and you will ſoon perſuade yourſelves that you are allowed!—But here, let me hold: indignation would carry me too far. It is, however, proper to warn government, that the dreadful ſyſtem of vaſſalage is ſtill more fatal to the colonies.

The culture of theſe lands, from the nature of the climate and of the productions, requiring expedition, cannot eaſily ſpare a number of hands to be ſent to a great diſtance, and employed in public works, which are often uſeleſs, and ſhould never be carried on but by idle perſons. If the mother country, with all the various means ſhe can employ, has never yet been able to correct or mitigate the hardſhips of vaſſalage, ſhe ought to conſider what evils muſt reſult from them beyond the ſeas, where the direction of theſe works is committed to two overſeers, who can neither be directed, cenſured, nor controlled, in the arbitrary exerciſe of abſolute power. But the burthen of theſe ſervices is light, when compared with that of the taxes.

*Are the taxes properly levied in the French iſlands?*

A TAX may be defined to be a contribution towards public expence, neceſſary for the preſervation of private property. The peaceable enjoyment of lands and revenues requires a proper force, to defend them from invaſion, and a police that ſecures the liberty of cultivating them. Whatever is paid towards the maintenance of public order, is right and juſt; whatever is levied beyond this, is extortion. Now, all the government expences which the mother country is at for the colonies, are repaid her by the reſtraint laid upon them, to cultivate for her alone, and in ſuch a manner as is beſt adapted to her wants. This ſubjection is the moſt burtheneſome of all tributes, and ought to exempt them from all other taxes.

Any one muſt be convinced of this truth, who reflects on the difference of ſituation between the Old World and the New. In Europe, ſubſiſtence and home conſumption are the principal object of culture and of manufactures; exportation only carries off the overplus. In the iſlands, the whole is to be exported. There life and property are equally precarious.

In Europe, war only deprives the manufacturer and the husbandman of the trade to foreign countries; they still have their resource in that which circulates in the internal part of the kingdom. In the islands, hostilities annihilate every thing; there are no more sales, no more purchases, no more circulation; the planter hardly recovers his costs.

In Europe, the owner of a small estate, who is able to make only a few expences, improves his land as much in proportion as he who hath a wide domain and immense treasures. In the islands, the improvement of the smallest plantation requires a tolerable stock to begin with.

In Europe, it is commonly one citizen that is indebted to another; and the state is not impoverished by these private debts. Those of the islands are of a different nature. Many planters, in order to carry on the labour of clearing their grounds, and to repair the losses incurred by the misfortunes of war, which had put a stop to their exports, have been obliged to borrow such large sums, that they may be considered rather as farming the trade, than as proprietors of the plantations.

Whether these reflections have not occurred to the French ministry, or whether particular circumstances have obliged them to depart from their plan; certain it is, they have added fresh taxes to the obligation already laid on the colonies to draw all their necessaries from France, and to send thither all their own commodities. Every negro has been taxed. In some settlements, this poll-tax had been confined to the working blacks; in others, it was laid on all the slaves without distinction. Both these arrangements have been opposed by the colony assembled at St. Domingo. Let us now judge of the force of their arguments.

Children, old and infirm men, make up about one third of the slaves. Far from being useful to the planter, some of them are only a burthen, which humanity alone can prompt him to support, while the rest can afford him but distant and uncertain hopes. It is difficult to conceive how the treasury should have thought of taxing an object that is already chargeable to the owner.

The poll-tax upon blacks extends beyond the grave; that is to ſay, it is fixed upon a perſon who exiſts no more. If a ſlave ſhould die after the aſſeſſment has been made, the planter, who is already unhappy on account of the diminution in his income and of his capital, is ſtill obliged to pay a tax, which reminds him of his loſſes, and makes him feel them more ſenſibly.

Even the working ſlaves are not an exact tariff of the appraiſement of a planter's income. With a few negroes, a good ſoil will yield more than a poor one with a great number. The commodities are not all of the ſame value, though they are all procured by the labour of thoſe perſons upon whom the tax is equally laid. The changing from one kind of culture to another, which the ground requires, ſuſpends for a while the produce of labour. Droughts, inundations, fires, devouring inſects, often deſtroy the fruits of labour. Suppoſe all things alike, a leſs number of hands makes in proportion a leſs quantity of ſugar; either becauſe the whole of the wants muſt be taken into conſideration, or becauſe labour is truly advantageous ſo far only as the moſt favourable opportunities can be improved.

The poll-tax upon blacks becomes ſtill more oppreſſive in time of war. A planter who cannot then diſpoſe of his commodities, and muſt run in debt to ſupport himſelf and to keep up his land, is further obliged to pay a tax for ſlaves, whoſe labour will hardly be equivalent to their maintenance. Nay, he is often conſtrained to ſend them at a diſtance from his plantation for the imaginary wants of the colony, to ſupport them there at his own expence, and to ſee them periſh without any reaſon, while he is under the ſevere neceſſity of replacing them one time or other, if ever he means to retrieve his waſted and almoſt ruined lands.

The burthen of the poll-tax was ſtill heavier upon ſuch of the proprietors as were abſent from the colony, for theſe were condemned to pay the tax treble; which was the more unjuſt, as it was matter of indifference to France whether her commodities were conſumed at home or in the iſlands. Could it be her intention to hinder the emigration of the coloniſts? But it is only by the mildneſs of the government that citizens can be induced to fix in a country,

not by prohibitions and penalties. Beſides, men who by hazardous labours carried on in a ſultry climate, had contributed to the public proſperity, ought to have been indulged in the liberty of ending their days in the temperate regions of the mother country. Nothing could more effectually rouſe the ambition and activity of numbers of idle people, than to be ſpectators of their fortune; and the ſtate might thus be relieved of the load of theſe uſeleſs men, to the profit of induſtry and commerce.

Nothing can be more detrimental to both than this taxing of the blacks, as the neceſſity of ſelling obliges the planter to lower the price of his commodities. A moderate price may be an advantageous circumſtance, when it is the reſult of great plenty, and of a very quick circulation. But it is ruinous to be obliged to loſe conſtantly upon one's merchandize, in order to pay taxes. Finance is like a foul ulcer, in which the mortified fleſh deſtroys the live fleſh. In proportion as the blood is conveyed into the wound by the circulation, it becomes corrupted there while it ſupplies it. The profits of trade are all abſorbed by the treaſury, which is continually receiving, without making any returns.

Laſtly, it is a very difficult matter to levy this tax. Every proprietor muſt give in an annual account of the number of his ſlaves. To prevent falſe entries, they muſt be verified by clerks or exciſemen. Every negro that is not entered muſt be forfeited; which is a very abſurd practice, becauſe every labouring negro is ſo much ſtock, and by the forfeiture of him the culture is diminiſhed, and the very object for which the duty was laid is annihilated. Thus it happens, that in the colonies, where the ſucceſs of every thing depends upon the tranquillity which is enjoyed, a deſtructive war is carried on between the financier and the planter. Law-ſuits are numerous, removals frequent, rigorous meaſures become neceſſary, and the coſts are great and ruinous.

If the negro tax be unjuſt in its extent, unequal in its repartition, and complicate in the mode of levying it, the tax laid upon the commodities that are carried out of the colonies is nearly as injudicious. The government have ventured to impoſe this duty, from a perſuaſion that it would fall entirely upon the conſumer and the merchant;

but there cannot be a more dangerous error in political œconomy than this is.

The act of consuming does not supply money to buy what is consumed; this must be gained by labour; and all labour, if things are traced up to their origin, is, in fact, paid by the first proprietor out of the produce of the earth. This being the case, no one article can be always growing dearer, but all the rest must rise in proportion. In this situation, there is no profit to be made upon any of them. If this equilibrium between the articles of commerce be removed, the consumption of the advanced article will decrease; and, if it decrease, the price will fall of course, and the dearness will have been only transient.

The merchant can no more take the duty upon him than the consumer. He may, indeed, advance it once or twice; but if he cannot make a natural and necessary profit upon the commodities so taxed, he will soon discontinue that branch of trade. To hope that competition will force him to take the payment of the duty out of his profits, is to suppose that they were exorbitant; and that the competition, which was then insufficient, will become more considerable when the profits are less. If, on the other hand, things were as they ought to be, and the profits no more than necessary, it is supposing that the competition will subsist, though the profits that gave rise to it subsist no longer. We must admit all these absurdities, or allow that it is the planter in the islands who pays the duty, whether it be levied from the first, second, or hundredth, hand.

Far from thus burthening the cultivation of the colonies with taxes, it ought to be encouraged by liberalities; since by the state of restraint in which trade is kept, these liberalities, with all the advantages arising from them, must necessarily return to the mother country.

If the situation of a state, that is in arrears on account of losses or mismanagement, will not admit of liberalities, or easing the subjects of their burthens, the payment of the taxes in the colonies themselves might, at least, be suppressed, and the produce of them levied at home. This would be the next best system that could be pursued, and would be equally agreeable to the Old and New World.

Nothing is so pleasant to an American, as to remove from his sight every thing that denotes his dependence. Wearied with the importunities of collectors, he abhors standing taxes, and dreads the increase of them. He in vain seeks for that liberty which he thought to have found at the distance of two thousand leagues from Europe. He disdains a yoke which pursues him across the storms of the ocean. Discontented, and inwardly repining at the restraint he still feels, he thinks with indignation on his native country; which, under the name of mother, calls for his blood, instead of feeding him. Remove the image of his chains from his sight; let his riches pay their tribute to the mother country only at landing there, and he will fancy himself free and privileged; though at the same time, by lowering the value of his own commodities, and enhancing the price of those that come from Europe, he, in fact, ultimately bears the load of a tax of which he is ignorant.

Navigators will also find an advantage in paying duties only upon goods that have reached the place of their destination in their full value, and without any risk, and will restore the capital of their stock along with the profits. They will not then have the mortification of having purchased of the prince the very hazards of shipwreck, and of losing a cargo for which they had paid duty at embarking. Their ships, on the contrary, will bring back, in merchandize, the amount of the duty; and the productions being advanced in value by exportation, the duty will hardly be felt.

Lastly, the consumer himself will be a gainer by it; because the colonist and the merchant cannot benefit by any regulation, of which in time the consumer will not experience the good effects. All the taxes will no sooner be reduced to a single one, but trade will be clogged with fewer formalities, fewer delays, fewer charges, and consequently the commodities can be sold at a more reasonable rate.

This system of moderation, which every thing seems to point out as the fittest, will be easily introduced. All the productions of the islands are subject, at their entry into the kingdom, to a duty known by the name of *Domaine d'occident*, or Western domain, which is fixed at three and

a half per cent. with eight ſols [4d.] per pound. The value of theſe productions, which is the rule for the payment of the duty, is determined in the months of January and July. It is fixed at twenty, or five-and-twenty, per cent. below the real price. The weſtern office allows, beſides, a more conſiderable tare than the ſeller in trade does. Add to this duty that which the commodities pay at the cuſtom-houſes of the colonies, which produces nearly the ſame, and thoſe that are paid in the inland parts of the iſlands; and we ſhall have the whole of the revenue which the government draws from the ſettlements in America.

If this fund were confounded with the other revenues of the ſtate, we might be apprehenſive that it was not applied to its deſtination, which ſhould be ſolely the protection of the iſlands. The unforeſeen exigencies of the royal treaſury would infallibly divert it into another channel. There are ſome moments when the critical ſtate of the diſeaſe will not admit of calculating the inconveniencies of the remedy. The moſt urgent neceſſity engroſſes all the attention. Nothing then is ſecured from the hand of arbitrary power, urged by the wants of the preſent moment. The miniſtry is continually drawing out of the treaſury, under the deluſive hopes of replacing in a ſhort time what they have received; but the execution of this deſign is perpetually retarded by freſh demands.

Hence it appears, that it would be highly neceſſary that the treaſury, deſtined for the duties on the productions of the colonies, ſhould be kept wholly ſeparate from that deſtined to receive the revenues of the kingdom. The ſums depoſited there, as in truſt, would always be ready to anſwer the demands of thoſe ſettlements. The coloniſt who always has ſtock to ſend over to Europe, would gladly give it for bills of exchange, when he was once aſſured that they would meet with no delays or difficulties in the payment of them. This kind of bank would ſoon create another means of communication between the mother country and the iſlands; the court would be better acquainted with the ſtate of their affairs in theſe diſtant countries, and would recover the credit they have long ſince loſt; but which is of the utmoſt conſequence, eſpecially in time of war. We ſhall now put an end to our diſcuſſions on taxes, and conſider the regulations reſpecting the militia.

*Is the militia well regulated in the French iſlands?*

THE French iſlands, like thoſe of other nations, had no regular troops at firſt. The adventurers, who had conquered them, looked upon the right of defending themſelves as a privilege; and the deſcendants of thoſe intrepid men thought themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong to guard their own poſſeſſions. They had nothing, indeed, to do but to repulſe a few veſſels, which landed ſome ſailors and ſoldiers, as undiſciplined as themſelves.

The ſituation of affairs has, indeed, undergone an alteration. As theſe ſettlements became more conſiderable, it was to be expected that they would ſooner or later be attacked by numerous European fleets and armies; and this made it neceſſary to ſend them other defenders. The event has ſhewn the inſufficiency of a few ſcattered battalions, to oppoſe the land and ſea forces of England. The coloniſts themſelves have been convinced that their own efforts could never prevent a revolution; and fearing that a fruitleſs reſiſtance would exaſperate a victorious enemy, they were more inclined to capitulate than to fight. Having become political calculators, their weakneſs made them ſenſible that they were unfit for military operations, and they have contributed their money in order to be diſcharged from a ſervice, which, though glorious in its principle, had degenerated into a burthenſome ſervitude. The militia was ſuppreſſed in 1763.

This act of compliance has been applauded by thoſe who only conſidered this inſtitution as the means of preſerving the colonies from all foreign invaſions. They very ſenſibly imagined, that it was unreaſonable to require that men, who were grown old under the hardſhips of a ſcorching climate, in order to raiſe a large fortune, ſhould expoſe themſelves to the ſame dangers as thoſe poor victims of our ambition, who are perpetually hazarding their lives for a pay which is not ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence. Such a ſacrifice hath appeared to them too unreaſonable to expect it ſhould be complied with; and the miniſtry, who ſaw the impropriety of keeping up ſuch a vain and burthenſome ſervice, have therefore diſcontinued it, and been commended.

Thoſe who are better acquainted with the American ſettlements, have not judged ſo favourably of this innovation.

The militia, say they, is necessary to preserve the interior police of the islands; to prevent the revolt of the slaves; to check the incursions of the fugitive negroes; to hinder the banditti from assembling in troops; to protect the navigation along the coasts, and to keep off the privateers. If the inhabitants be not embodied; if they have neither commanders nor standards, how can they avert so many dangers? How will it be possible to dissipate these destructive calamities, when they have not been able to check them before they broke out? From whence will arise that harmony and uniformity of action, without which nothing can be carried on with propriety?

These reflections, which, though striking and natural, had at first escaped the court of Versailles, soon produced an alteration in their conduct. They became convinced of the necessity of restoring the militia, but without giving up the taxes which were agreed to for the support of the regular troops. It was a difficult matter to dispose the people to consent to this arrangement. The ministry negociated, bribed, and threatened. Guadaloupe and Martinico, though displeased with the abuses committed by an inconstant and precipitate authority, submitted at length, in 1767, to the wishes of administration; but this example did not make the impression upon St. Domingo that was desired, and perhaps expected. The year following it became necessary to carry on a war against this rich colony, and it was not till after the magistrates of the west and south of the island had been thrown into prison, and till the earth was strewed with dead bodies, that it was possible to reduce to submission the planters, exasperated by the vexations of a rapacious government.

Since this period, unfortunately stamped with characters of blood, all the inhabitants of the other hemisphere are again embodied. The obligations that are imposed by this kind of registering are various, and are not yet properly explained. This obscurity, which is always dangerous in the hands of rulers, who are perpetually intent upon the extending of their jurisdiction, keeps the citizens in continual alarms for their liberty, which they are more jealous of in the colonies than we are in Europe; it exposes them to numberless vexations. The evils it has occasioned have excited a detestation for this kind of servitude, which none

but tyrants or ſlaves can be ſurpriſed at. It is neceſſary, if poſſible, to eradicate the impreſſions of the paſt, and remove all miſtruſt for the future. The legiſlature will ſucceed in this by making all thoſe alterations in the form of the militia, which are conſiſtent with its object; which is, to maintain public order and ſafety. The welfare of the people is the great end of all authority. If the actions of the ſovereign do not tend to this end, his exiſtence will be ſupported only by the aſſiſtance of money, or the ſanction of old records, which time will deſtroy or poſterity deſpiſe. In vain does flattery raiſe numberleſs and magnificent monuments to princes; the hand of man erects them, but it is the heart that conſecrates them, and affection that renders them immortal. Without this, public trophies are only a proof of the meanneſs of the people, not of the greatneſs of the ruler. There is one ſtatue in Paris, the ſight of which makes every heart exult with ſentiments of affection. Every eye is turned with complacency towards this image of paternal and popular goodneſs. The tears of the diſtreſſed ſilently call upon it under the hardſhips of oppreſſion. Men ſecretly bleſs the hero it immortalizes. All voices unite to celebrate his memory after two centuries are elapſed. His name is in veneration to the uttermoſt parts of America. In every heart he proteſts againſt the abuſes of authority; he declares againſt the uſurpations of the rights of the people; he promiſes the ſubjects the redreſs of their grievances, and an increaſe of proſperity; and demands both of the miniſtry.

*Is the regulation of inheritance properly ſettled in the French iſlands?*

AMONG the circumſtances which require reformation, we ought to reckon a cuſtom eſtabliſhed in the French poſſeſſions in the New World, of dividing equally the paternal inheritance among all the children, and the inheritance of a relation among all the co-heirs.

We hold in abhorrence, with all reaſonable men, whom pride or prejudice have not corrupted, the abſurd right of primogeniture, which transfers the entire patrimony of a family to the eldeſt ſon, whoſe morals are corrupted by it; which reduces his brothers and ſiſters to a ſtate of indigence, and puniſhes them, as it were, for the caſual fault of hav-

ing been born a few years too late. Are they the leſs legitimate on that account? and is the perſon who hath given them exiſtence the leſs reſponſible for their happineſs? A chief of a family is nothing more than a depoſitary; and is a depoſitary ever allowed to make an unequal diviſion of his truſt between perſons who have an equal claim? If a ſavage ſhould be in poſſeſſion, at his death, of two bows, and ſhould have two children, and if he ſhould be aſked, what was to be done with the two bows, would he not anſwer, that one ſhould be given to each of his children? And if he were to bequeath them both to one, would it not be underſtood that he had conſidered the excluded child as not being his own offspring? In the countries where this monſtrous cuſtom of diſinheriting is authoriſed, the father is the leaſt reſpected by all; by the eldeſt, becauſe he can take nothing away from him; and by the youngeſt children, becauſe he can give them nothing. To filial affection, which is extinguiſhed, ſucceeds a meanneſs of ſentiment, which accuſtoms three or four children, almoſt as ſoon as they are born, to cringe to one alone, who from this circumſtance conceives a degree of perſonal importance, which ſeldom fails to render him inſolent. Reſpectable parents are apprehenſive of multiplying around them a number of indigent perſons who are to be condemned to celibacy. The whole inheritance is placed in the hands of a madman, whoſe diſſipations can only be put a ſtop to by ſubſtitution, which is another evil. Calamities of ſo great magnitude muſt neceſſarily ſuggeſt the idea, that the right of primogeniture, which was not originally conſecrated by ſuperſtition, and which deſpotiſm hath no intereſt in perpetuating, will, ſooner or later, be aboliſhed. It is the remains of feudal barbariſm, which our deſcendants will one day be aſhamed of.

The law of equality, however, which ſeems dictated by nature; which occurs inſtantly to every juſt and good man; which leaves no doubt in the mind as to its rectitude and utility; this law may ſometimes, perhaps, be prejudicial to the preſervation of ſociety. We have an inſtance of this in the French iſlands, which it diverts from the end of their deſtination, and gradually paves the way for their ruin.

This diviſion was neceſſary at the firſt formation of colonies. Immenſe tracts of lands were to be cleared. This

could not be done without people; nor could men, who had quitted their own country for want, be any otherwiſe fixed in thoſe diſtant and deſert regions, than by aſſigning them a property. Had the government refuſed to grant them lands, they would have wandered about from one place to another; they would have begun to eſtabliſh various ſettlements, and have had the diſappointment to find, that none of them would attain to that degree of proſperity as to become uſeful to the mother country.

But ſince inheritances, too extenſive at firſt, have in proceſs of time been reduced by a ſeries of ſucceſſions, and by the ſubdiviſions of ſhares, to ſuch a compaſs as renders them fit to facilitate cultivation; ſince they have been ſo limited as not to lie fallow for want of hands, proportionable to their extent, a further diviſion of lands would again reduce them to nothing. In Europe, an obſcure man, how has but a few acres of land, will make that little eſtate more advantageous to him in proportion, than an opulent man will the immenſe property he is poſſeſſed of, either by inheritance or chance. In America, the nature of the productions, which are very valuable; the uncertainty of the crops, which are but few in their kind; the quantity of ſlaves, of cattle, of utenſils neceſſary for a plantation; all this requires a large ſtock, which they have not in ſome, and will ſoon want in all, the colonies, if the lands be parcelled out and divided more and more by hereditary ſucceſſions.

If a father leave an eſtate of 30,000 livres [1,250l.] a-year, and this eſtate be equally divided between three children, they will all be ruined if they make three diſtinct plantations; the one, becauſe he has been made to pay too much for the buildings, and becauſe he has too few negroes, and too little land in proportion; the other two, becauſe they muſt build before they can begin upon the culture of their land. They will all be equally ruined, if the whole plantation ſhould remain in the hands of one of the three. In a country where a creditor is in a worſe ſtate than any other man, eſtates have riſen to an immoderate value. The poſſeſſor of the whole will be very fortunate if he is obliged to pay no more for intereſt than the net produce of the plantation. Now, as the primary law of nature is the procuring of ſubſiſtence, he will begin with

procuring that without paying his debts. Theſe will accumulate, and he will ſoon become inſolvent, and the confuſion conſequent upon ſuch a ſituation will end in the ruin of the whole family.

The only way to remedy theſe diſorders, is to aboliſh the equality of the diviſion of land. In this enlightened age, government ſhould ſee the neceſſity of letting the colonies be more ſtocked with things than with men. The wiſdom of the legiſlature will, doubtleſs, find out ſome compenſation for thoſe it has injured, and in ſome meaſure ſacrificed to the welfare of the community. They ought to be placed upon freſh lands, and to ſubſiſt by their own labour. This is the only way to maintain this ſort of men; and their induſtry would open a freſh ſource of wealth to the ſtate.

At the concluſion of the peace, a favourable opportunity offered itſelf for making the propoſed alteration in St. Lucia and Guiana. The French ought not to have neglected this opportunity, perhaps the only one that will offer, to repeal the law relating to the diviſions of eſtates, by diſtributing to thoſe, whoſe expectations they had fruſtrated, ſuch lands as they intended to cultivate; and by giving them thoſe conſiderable ſums that have been expended to no purpoſe, as the neceſſary advance for carrying on the cultivation. Men inured to the climate, acquainted with the only kind of culture that could poſſibly be thought of, encouraged by the example, aſſiſtance, and advice, of their own families, and aided by the ſlaves with which government would have ſupplied them, were much fitter for this purpoſe than a ſet of profligate men, collected from the refuſe of Europe, and were not much more likely to raiſe new colonies to that pitch of wealth and proſperity which might be expected. Unfortunately, it was not foreſeen, that the firſt colonies in America muſt have increaſed by ſlow degrees and of themſelves, with the loſs of a great many men, or by extraordinary exertions of bravery and patience, becauſe they had no competition to ſupport; but that the ſucceeding ſettlements could only be formed by the natural means of population, as an old ſwarm begets a new one. The overflowings of population in one iſland muſt ſpread into another; and the ſuperfluities of a rich colony furniſh neceſſaries to an infant ſettlement. This is the na-

tural order which good policy points out to maritime and commercial powers. All other methods are irrational and deſtructive. Though the court of Verſailles have overlooked this plain principle, productive of ſo much good, this is no reaſon why they ſhould reject the propoſal of putting a ſtop to the further diviſion of lands. If the neceſſity of ſuch a law be evident, it muſt be enacted, though the preſent time be leſs favourable than that which has been neglected. When the plantations are reſtored to their ſtate of proſperity, by the ſuppreſſion of that diviſion of land, which precludes every means of improvement, the planters may then be compelled to clear themſelves of the debts with which their plantations are now oppreſſed.

*Has the payment of the debts contracted by the French iſlands been wiſely provided for?*

Part of theſe debts originated from the claims that were allowed, by an injudicious law, to the ſeveral co-heirs. This diſtreſſed ſituation hath increaſed in proportion as the colonies have acquired more wealth. When they had increaſed ſo far, as that the number of inhabitants became ſuperior to the plantations, the ſuperabundant part of the population remained idle creditors of the lands they did not occupy, and conſequently uſeleſs, and even burthenſome, to the culture.

There are other credits proceeding from the ſale which the coloniſts have reciprocally made of their habitations. We ſeldom go to America, without the proſpect of enjoying in Europe thoſe riches, which are commonly acquired by obſtinate labour, or by fortunate events. Thoſe who do not loſe ſight of this aim, live with more or leſs economy, and ſend to their own country all that they have been able to ſave out of their income. As ſoon as they have acquired that degree of fortune to which they aſpired, they endeavour to diſpoſe of their plantations. In a country where the ſpecie is deficient, it is neceſſary to ſell them upon credit, or to keep them; and moſt of the proprietors rather chooſe to give up their poſſeſſions to purchaſers who ſometimes fail in their engagements, than to truſt them in the hands of ſtewards who are ſeldom faithful.

Laſtly, the advances made to the coloniſts have been the occaſion of much credit being given. The lands of the

French iſlands, as well as of the other iſlands in America, did not originally yield any production fit for exportation. Funds were neceſſary to clear them, and the firſt Europeans who occupied them had no property. Trade came to their aſſiſtance; it furniſhed them with utenſils, proviſions, and ſlaves, neceſſary to form productions. This aſſociation between monied and induſtrious people gave birth to a great number of debts, which have multiplied in proportion as the plantations have increaſed.

The debtors have but too often failed in fulfilling the obligations they had contracted. An inordinate luxury, which cannot be excuſed in men who are born in miſery, hath compelled ſeveral of them to this breach of faith. Others have been drawn into it by an indolence, inconceivable in eager minds, that had gone beyond the ſeas to ſeek an end to their indigence. The moſt abundant means have been loſt in the hands of ſome people, who were deſtitute of the ſkill neceſſary to improve them. There have been likewiſe ſome planters devoid of ſhame, and without principle, who, though capable of ſettling with their creditors, have daringly withholden the property of others. Other cauſes have likewiſe occurred in leſſening the force of engagements.

Hurricanes, the violence of which cannot be eaſily deſcribed, ſubverted the country and deſtroyed the crops. The moſt expenſive and the moſt neceſſary buildings have been ſwallowed up by earthquakes. Inſects, which could not be deſtroyed, have devoured, during a long ſeries of years, all the produce that might have been expected from a fertile and well-cultivated ſoil. Some commodities, the produce of which hath exceeded their conſumption, have loſt their value, and have fallen into the utmoſt contempt. Long and cruel wars, by oppoſing inſurmountable obſtacles to the exportation of the productions, have rendered uſeleſs the moſt conſtant and moſt obſtinate labours.

Theſe calamities which have ſometimes happened at the ſame time, or which have at leaſt ſucceeded each other too rapidly, have given riſe to a ſyſtem of juriſprudence favourable to the debtors. The legiſlature have encumbered the ſeizure of lands and ſlaves with ſo many formalities, that it ſhould ſeem as if their deſign had been to render it impracticable. The public opinion hath branded the ſmall num-

ber of creditors who have undertaken to overcome these difficulties; and the tribunals themselves did not accede, without extreme reluctance, to the rigorous measures they were desirous of pursuing.

This system, which hath appeared for a long time the best that could be followed, hath still its partisans. What is it to the state, say these political calculators, whether the riches be in the hands of the creditor or of the debtor, provided public prosperity be increased? But can public prosperity increase when justice is trampled upon; when administration encourages a breach of faith, by offering it an asylum under the protection of the laws, for if the laws do not prosecute they protect; when the seeds of mistrust are encouraged among citizens, which must in time render them so many rogues, and enemies to each other; when loans, without any kind of security, shall have become impossible, or ruinous; when the rapaciousness of usury shall be exercised without restraint; when credit shall no longer exist either in or out of the state; and when the whole nation shall be considered as a set of men devoid of principles and of morality. General felicity can have no solid foundation, without the validity of engagements from whence it arises. Even the government ought only to free itself from its incumbrances according to the rules of justice. A bankruptcy of the state is infamous, and still more prejudicial to the morality of society than to the fortunes of individuals. A time will come, when all these iniquities shall be summoned to the tribunal of nations, and when the power which hath committed them shall be judged by its victims.

Other speculators, not so loose in their principles, have asserted, that an enlightened legislation would annul the debts anterior to a period which ought to be fixed. We will not examine whether this practice of some ancient republics hath ever been salutary; but we will affirm, without any fear of mistaking, that such a breach of the public faith, if it were common, would again plunge Europe, now become commercial, into that state of inaction and misery in which it was three or four centuries ago. Fortunately, this destructive revolution is not to be apprehended. The respect for property increases daily even among the least enlightened nations. In process of time, it will

be eſtabliſhed in the French iſlands, as well as elſewhere, when government ſhall at length compel the coloniſts to give ſome kind of ſatisfaction to their creditors. The beſt method of bringing about this act of juſtice is not yet agreed upon.

Some perſons are deſirous of ſumptuary laws, which, by reſtraining the expences of the inhabitants, would enable them to fulfil their engagements. How could ſuch an idea ever enter into the minds of men, to eſtabliſh this ſyſtem of privation as a maxim in the colonies? The value of their productions being entirely owing to exchanges, would not the annihilation of theſe compel the Americans either to raiſe few commodities, or to ſell them for a trifle? Should the mother country be willing to make up in money the deficiencies in the ſale of their merchandize, then all the gold that is drawn from one part of America would return into the other. After fifteen or twenty years of ſuch a trade, the powers that are enemies to France would have an additional motive for attacking poſſeſſions, the fertility of which excites in them ſo much ſurpriſe and jealouſy.

Others have imagined, that all kind of credit ſhould henceforward be prohibited. But would not the cultures already eſtabliſhed ſuffer from ſo abſurd a ſyſtem? Would not the cultivation of the virgin lands, which are generally moſt productive, be impeded? Would not the operations of the merchants in the mother country become daily more languid?

It is well known how reluctantly they ſee the rich planter accuſtom himſelf to ſend his own productions to Europe, to draw the articles of his own conſumption from thence, and reduce his correſpondents to the bare profits of commiſſion. If that dependence, which is a neceſſary conſequence of debts, ſhould ceaſe, they would no longer be a few planters, but the whole colony, who would make their own purchaſes and ſales in the mother country; they would all become traders, and even would ſoon have no competitors, becauſe they alone would be acquainted with the meaſure of their own wants.

Several perſons have wiſhed that it ſhould be permitted to ſeize and to ſell the negroes of debtors. Then the ſlaves who ſhould ceaſe to work upon one plantation, would be

employed upon another, and the colony would not be injured. This is a miſtake; the negroes will never be made to paſs, without miſchief, from one plantation to another. Theſe men, already too unhappy, would not contract the freſh habits required by a change of place, of maſter, of method, and of employment. They cannot live without their miſtreſſes and their children, which are their deareſt comforts, and the only thing that makes them endure life. Separated from this only conſolation to men in affliction, they pine away, and ſicken, and frequently deſert, or at leaſt they work but with reluctance and careleſſneſs.

Moreover, by ſecuring the payment of one creditor, ſeveral would infallibly be ruined. The moſt intelligent and the moſt active planters, deprived of part of the hands requiſite for the labours of their plantations, would ſoon become inſolvent, and would continue ſo for ever.

Honour hath appeared to ſome people a more effectual reſource than any other. Stamp, ſay they, but a mark of infamy upon the fraudulent debtor, render him incapable of ever exerciſing any public office, and we need not apprehend he will ſport with this prejudice. The moſt rapacious of men, and eſpecially the American planters, ſacrifice a part of their lives to hard labour, with no other view than to enjoy their fortune. But there is no enjoyment for a man who is branded with infamy. Obſerve only how punctually all debts of honour are paid. It is not an exceſs of delicacy, it is not a love of juſtice that brings back the ruined gameſter, within four-and-twenty hours, to the feet of his creditor, who, perhaps, is no better than a ſharper; it is the ſenſe of honour; it is the dread of being excluded from ſociety. But in what age, and what period, do we hear invoke the ſacred name of honour? Should not the government ſet the example of that juſtice, the practice of which it means to inculcate? Is it poſſible that public opinion ſhould diſgrace individuals for actions which the ſtate openly commits? When infamy has inſinuated itſelf into families, into great houſes, into the higheſt places, even into the camp and the ſanctuary, can there be any ſenſe of ſhame remaining? What man will henceforth be jealous of his honour, while thoſe who are called men of honour know of no other than that of being rich to get places, or of getting places to grow rich; when a man

muſt cringe in order to riſe; pleaſe the great and the women to ſerve the ſtate; and when the art of being agreeable, implies at leaſt an indifference for every virtue? Shall honour, which ſeems to be baniſhed from Europe, take refuge in America?

The court of Verſailles, perpetually led aſtray by the adminiſtrators of its colonies, have always appeared deſirous that the payment of debts ſhould depend entirely upon their arbitrary deciſion. They have never comprehended that this was eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of tyranny in the New World. Ignorant, capricious, intereſted, or vindictive chiefs, may ſelect, at pleaſure, thoſe debtors whom it may ſuit them to ruin. It is equally in their power to commit injuſtices towards the creditors. It will neither be the oldeſt, nor the moſt diſtreſſed, nor the moſt honeſt, creditor whom they will cauſe to be paid; but the moſt powerful, the beſt protected, the moſt active, or the moſt violent. Authority ought not to take place of juſtice, nor probity or virtue of the law, in any part of the world, or from any motive whatever; becauſe all authority is liable to corruption, and becauſe there is no probity or virtue which may not be ſhaken.

Two centuries, waſted in attempts, experiments, and combinations, muſt have convinced the French miniſtry, that the calamity which we here deplore, can only be put a ſtop to by clear and plain regulations, eaſily carried into execution. When creditors ſhall be able, without delays, without expence, and without reſtraining formalities, to take poſſeſſion of all the property of their debtors; then only will order be eſtabliſhed. This ſevere act of juriſprudence ſhould not have a retroactive effect. Humanity and policy will indicate the proper medium to be adopted for the liquidation of old debts. But with reſpect to new engagements, nothing ſhould ſcreen them from the rigour of the law that ſhould be enacted.

Very bitter remonſtrances will certainly be made at firſt. Where ſhall we find, will it be ſaid, a planter ſo raſh as to attempt an undertaking of any conſequence, when he ſhall be certain of ruin, if his labours ſhould not be ſeconded by chance and by the elements, upon the day appointed for him to fulfil his engagements? The dread of miſery and of ignominy will ſeize upon the minds of all men. Henceſor-

ward there will be no loans, no buſineſs, no circulation. Induſtry will degenerate into ſloth, and credit will be deſtroyed by the very ſyſtem adopted to re-eſtabliſh it.

We have no doubt but that this would be the language of the coloniſts in the firſt inſtance; but in the end, and even in a ſhort time, this arrangement would be moſt agreeable to thoſe who had been at firſt the moſt violent againſt it. Informed by public knowledge and by experience, they would be ſenſible that the facility of putting off payment had been burthenſome to them, and that they had found credit only by purchaſing it upon ſuch terms as were ſufficient to balance the riſk of lending to them.

The indulgencies which might have been proper in the early ſtate of the colonies, would, in our days, become an inexcuſable weakneſs. Theſe ſettlements will never thrive as they ought to do, unleſs the means of cultivation be multiplied; which they will not be, till the creditor be enabled to put an entire confidence in his debtor. The ſyſtem which is favourable to want of ſkill, to raſh undertakings, and to diſhoneſty, muſt be overturned; and the face of all things will ſoon be changed. The European merchant, who at preſent only advances trifling ſums to the American planter, and that with great apprehenſions, will not find a better way of employing his capital. With greater aſſiſtances, other plantations would be formed; and the old ones will acquire a new value. The French iſlands will at length arrive to that degree of fortune, to which the richneſs of their ſoil hath in vain for ſo long a time invited them. If, notwithſtanding the progreſs of knowledge, the court of Verſailles ſhould not be able to contrive a ſyſtem of legiſlation, more wiſe and more perfect than that which is eſtabliſhed in the Engliſh and in the Dutch poſſeſſions, they muſt not heſitate to adopt the ſame. Already have theſe three powers ſhewn other marks of conformity in their principles. They have alike concentrated the connections of their American ſettlements in the mother country.

*Has the mother country, in compelling the iſlands to deliver their produce only to herſelf, ſecured their exportation?*

ALL the colonies have not had the ſame origin. Some took their riſe from the reſtleſs ſpirit of ſome tribes of barbarians, who, after having long wandered through deſert countries, fixed themſelves at laſt, from mere wearineſs, in any one where they might form a nation. Others, driven out of their own territory by ſome powerful enemy, or allured by chance to a better climate than their own, have removed thither, and ſhared the lands with the natives. An exceſs of population, an abhorrence for tyranny, factions, and revolutions, have induced other citizens to quit their native country, and to go and build new cities in foreign climes. The ſpirit of conqueſt made ſome ſoldiers ſettle in the countries they had ſubdued, to ſecure the property of them to themſelves. None of theſe colonies were firſt formed with a view to trade. Even thoſe that were founded by Tyre, Carthage, and Marſeilles, which were all commercial republics, were only meant for neceſſary retreats upon barbarous coaſts, and for marts, where ſhips that were come from different ports, and tired with a long voyage, reciprocally made their exchanges.

The conqueſt of America gave the firſt idea of a new kind of ſettlement, the baſis of which is agriculture. The governments that founded thoſe colonies, choſe that ſuch of their ſubjects as they ſent thither, ſhould not have it in their power to conſume any thing but what they drew from the mother country, or to ſell the produce of their lands to any other ſtate. This double obligation has appeared to all nations to be conſonant to the law of nature, independent of all conventions, and ſelf-evident. They have not looked upon an excluſive intercourſe with their own colonies as an immoderate compenſation for the expences of ſettling and preſerving them. This has conſtantly been the ſyſtem of Europe relative to America.

France, like other nations, was always deſirous that its ſettlements of the New World ſhould ſend all their productions to the mother country, and ſhould receive all their proviſions from thence. But, in the preſent ſtate of things, this arrangement is impracticable.

The iſlands are in want of flour, wine, oil, linen, ſtuffs,

houſehold furniture, and every thing that contributes to the conveniencies of life. They muſt receive all theſe things from the mother country, which even ſuppoſing a ſyſtem of indefinite liberty, would ſell them excluſively, except flour, which North America might furniſh at a cheaper rate.

But theſe poſſeſſions are likewiſe in want of negroes to carry on the labours. The mother country hath hitherto ſupplied this deficiency in a very imperfect manner only. It therefore becomes neceſſary to have recourſe to the Engliſh, who are alone able to fill up the void. The only precaution which would be proper to be taken, would be, to eſtabliſh, perhaps, upon the ſuccours received from theſe rivals, a duty that would deprive them of the advantages which particular circumſtances give them over the French merchants.

Laſtly, in the preſent ſtate of the colonies, cattle, ſalt fiſh, and foreign woods, are become abſolutely neceſſary for them. It muſt be conſidered as an impoſſibility to convey them from Europe; and it is only from New England that they can obtain theſe means which are eſſentially requiſite for the culture of their plantations.

Smuggling, more or leſs tolerated, hath been hitherto the only reſource of the planters; but this method, beſide being too expenſive, is diſhoneſt and inſufficient. It is time that prohibitive laws ſhould give way to the imperious law of neceſſity. Government ſhould point out the ports where foreign productions may be received; they ſhould ſettle the proviſions which ſhould be allowed to be carried; they ſhould form judicious inſtitutions, which might give a degree of conſiſtency to this arrangement; and advantages will be found to accrue from this new ſyſtem, exempt from every inconvenience; a trial was made of it in 1765. If this fortunate plan was given up, it was on account of that fatal inſtability which hath for a long time diſgraced the naval operations of France; it will therefore be reſumed, and at the ſame time the colonies will be ſecure of a mart for all their productions.

Theſe ſettlements ſend annually to the mother country, beſides what they keep for their own conſumption, a hundred thouſand hogſheads of molaſſes; the value of which may be from nine to ten millions, [from 375,000l. to 416,666l. 13s. 4d.] From ill-judged motives of intereſt,

perhaps, ſhe hath deprived them and herſelf of this benefit; from an apprehenſion of injuring the ſale of her own brandy. The brandies drawn from ſugar, always inferior to thoſe extracted from wine, can only be for the uſe of poor nations, or of the lower claſs of people in the rich ones. They will never be preferred to any but malt ſpirits, and theſe are not diſtilled in France. There will always be a demand for the French brandies, even in the iſlands, for the uſe of that claſs of men who can afford to pay for them. The government, therefore, can never too ſoon retract ſo unjuſt and ſo fatal an error, and ought to admit molaſſes and rum into its ports, to be conſumed there, or wherever elſe they may be wanted. Nothing would more extend their conſumption, than to authoriſe French navigators to carry them directly to the foreign markets. This indulgence ought even to be extended to the whole produce of the colonies. As an opinion that claſhes with ſo many intereſts and ſo many prejudices may probably be conteſted, it will be proper to eſtabliſh it on clear principles.

The French iſlands furniſh the mother country with ſugars, coffee, cotton, indigo, and other commodities, that are partly conſumed at home, and partly diſpoſed of in foreign countries, which return in exchange either ſilver, or other articles that are wanted. Theſe iſlands receive from the mother country clothes, proviſions, and inſtruments of huſbandry. Such is the twofold deſtination of the colonies. In order to fulfil it, they muſt be rich. In order to be rich, they muſt grow large crops, and be able to diſpoſe of them at the beſt price: and, that this price may be kept up, the ſale of them muſt be as general as poſſible. To obtain this, it muſt be made entirely free. In order to make it as free as poſſible, it muſt be clogged with no formalities, no expences, no labours, no needleſs encumbrances. Theſe truths, which may be proved from their cloſe connection with each other, muſt determine whether it be advantageous that the trade of the colonies ſhould be ſubjected to the delays and expence of a ſtaple in France.

Theſe intermediate expences muſt neceſſarily fall either upon the conſumer or upon the planter. If upon the former, he will conſume leſs, becauſe his means do not increaſe in proportion to his expences; if upon the latter, as his produce brings in leſs, he will be leſs able to make the

neceſſary advances for the next crop, and of courſe his lands will yield leſs. The evident progreſs of theſe deſtructive conſequences is ſo little attended to, that every day we hear people confidently ſay, that merchandize, before it is conſumed, muſt paſs through many hands, and undergo many charges, both for handicraft and carriage; and that as theſe charges employ and maintain a number of perſons, they are conducive to the population and ſtrength of a ſtate. Men are ſo blinded by prejudice, as not to ſee, that if it be advantageous that commodities, before they are conſumed, ſhould undergo a twofold expence, this advantage will ſtill be increaſed, to the greater emolument of the nation, if this expence ſhould amount to four, eight, twelve, or thirty, times more. Then, indeed, all nations might break up their highways, fill up their canals, prohibit the navigation of their rivers; they might even exclude animals from the labours of the field, and employ none but men in theſe works, in order to add to the expences that precede the conſumption of the produce. Yet ſuch are the abſurdities we muſt maintain, if we admit the falſe principle we are now oppoſing.

But political truths muſt be long canvaſſed before they are perceived. I ſhall advance, without fearing to be contradicted, that the tranſcendant parts of geometry have neither the depth nor the ſubtilty of this ſpecies of arithmetic. There is nothing poſſible in mathematics, which the genius of Newton, or of ſome of his ſucceſſors, might not have flattered itſelf to accompliſh. But I ſhall not ſay as much of them, with reſpect to the matters we are now treating of. At firſt ſight we imagine that we had but one difficulty to ſolve: but this difficulty ſoon brings on an other; that again a third, and thus we proceed *ad infinitum*; and we perceive that we muſt either give up the work, or embrace at once the whole immenſe ſyſtem of ſocial order, without which we ſhall obtain only an incomplete and defective reſult. The data and the calculations vary according to the nature of the place, its productions, its ſpecie, its reſources, its connections, its laws, its cuſtoms, its taſte, its commerce, and its manners. Where ſhall we find the man ſufficiently informed to embrace all theſe elements? Where the mind ſufficiently accurate to appreciate them only at their proper value? All informations concerning

the different branches of ſociety, are no more than the branches of that tree, which conſtitutes the ſcience of the man engaged in public life. He muſt be an eccleſiaſtic, a military man, a magiſtrate, a financier, a merchant, and a huſbandman. He muſt have weighed all the advantages and obſtacles which he is to expect from paſſion, from rival pretenſions, and from private intereſt. With all the knowledge that may be acquired without genius, and with all the genius that may have been beſtowed upon him without knowledge, he is inſtantly led into miſtakes. It is not therefore ſurpriſing, that ſo many errors ſhould have gained credit among the people, who never repeat any thing but what they have heard; that ſo many ſhould have prevailed among ſpeculators, who ſuffer themſelves to be led away by the ſpirit of ſyſtem, and who ſcruple not to conclude a general truth, from ſome particular ſucceſs; that ſo many miſtakes ſhould happen among men of buſineſs, who are all of them more or leſs inſlaved to the routine of their predeceſſors, and more or leſs reſtrained by the ruinous conſequences of attempting any thing contrary to cuſtom; in a word, that ſo many faults ſhould be committed among ſtateſmen, who by their birth, or by favour, are brought up to important places, to which they come with profound ignorance, that leaves them at the diſcretion of corrupt ſubalterns, who either deceive or miſlead them. In every well-regulated ſociety, there ought to be no matter upon which a freedom of diſcuſſion ſhould not be allowed. The more weighty and the more difficult this matter is, the more neceſſary doth this diſcuſſion become. Can we then have a more important, a more complicated ſubject than that of government? Or could any court, that was fond of truth, do better than to encourage all men to exerciſe their thoughts upon it? And ſhould we not be authoriſed to think of that court, who ſhould forbid this ſtudy, that we muſt either diſtruſt their operations, or conclude them to be bad? The true reſult of a prohibitive edict upon this point, might very properly be contained in the following words, *the ſovereign forbids that it ſhould be demonſtrated to him; that his miniſter is either a fool or a knave, for it is his pleaſure that he ſhould be either the one or the other, without any notice being taken of it.* The council of Verſailles, long blinded by that darkneſs in which they ſuffered their nation to remain, had

not yet acquired a sufficient degree of knowledge to discover what kind of administration was fittest for the colonies; and they are still equally ignorant of the form of government best calculated to make them prosper.

*Is the authority in the French islands committed to proper persons.*

The French colonies, settled by profligate men, who fled from the restraints or punishments of the law, seemed at first to stand in need of nothing but a strict police; they were therefore committed to chiefs who had an unlimited authority. The spirit of intrigue, natural to all courts, but more especially familiar to a nation where gallantry gives the women an universal ascendant, has at all times filled the higher posts in America with worthless men, loaded with debts and vices. The ministry, from some sense of shame, and the fear of raising such men where their disgrace was known, have sent them beyond sea, to improve or retrieve their fortunes, among people who were ignorant of their misconduct. An ill-judged compassion, and that mistaken maxim of courtiers, that villany is necessary, and villains are useful, made them deliberately sacrifice the peace of the planters, the safety of the colonies, and the very interests of the state, to a set of infamous persons only fit to be imprisoned. These rapacious and dissolute men stifled the seeds of all that was good and laudable, and checked the progress of that prosperity which was rising spontaneously.

Arbitrary power carries along with it so subtle a poison, that even those men who went over with honest intentions, were soon corrupted. If ambition, avarice, and pride, had not begun to infect them, they would not have been proof against flattery, which never fails to raise its meanness upon general slavery, and to advance its own fortune by public calamities.

The few governors who escaped corruption, meeting with no support in an arbitrary administration, were continually committing mistakes. Men are to be governed by laws, and not by men. If the governors be deprived of this common rule, this standard of their judgments, all right, all safety, and all civil liberty, will be extinct. Nothing will then be seen but contradictory decisions, transient and opposite regulations and orders, which, for want of fun-

damental maxims, will have no connection with each other. If the code of laws were cancelled, even in the beſt conſtituted empire, it would ſoon appear that juſtice alone was not ſufficient to govern it well. The wiſeſt men would be inadequate to ſuch a taſk. As they would not all be of the ſame mind, and as each of them would not always be in the ſame diſpoſition, the ſtate would ſoon be ſubverted. This kind of confuſion was perpetual in the French colonies, and the more ſo, as the governors made but a ſhort ſtay in one place, and were recalled before they had time to take cognizance of any thing. After they had proceeded without a guide for three years, in a new country, and upon unformed plans of police and laws, theſe rulers were replaced by others, who, in as ſhort a ſpace, had not time to form any connection with the people they were to govern, nor to ripen their projects into that juſtice which, when tempered with mildneſs, can alone ſecure the execution of them. This want of experience, and of precedents, ſo much intimidated one of theſe abſolute magiſtrates, that, out of delicacy, he would not venture to decide upon the common occurrences. Not but that he was aware of the inconveniencies of his irreſolution; but, though an able man, he did not think himſelf qualified to be a legiſlator, and therefore did not chooſe to uſurp the authority of one.

Yet theſe diſorders might eaſily have been prevented, by ſubſtituting an equitable legiſlation, firm, and independent of private will, to a military government, violent in itſelf, and adapted only to critical and perilous times. But this ſcheme, which has often been propoſed, was diſapproved by the governors, jealous of abſolute power; which, formidable in itſelf, is always odious in a ſubject. Theſe ſlaves, eſcaped from the ſecret tyranny of the court, were remarkably attached to that form of juſtice which prevails in Aſiatic governments, by which they kept even their own dependents in awe. The reformation was rejected even by ſome virtuous governors, who did not conſider, that, by reſerving to themſelves the right of doing good, they left it in the power of their ſucceſſors to do ill with impunity. All exclaimed againſt a plan of legiſlation that tended to leſſen the dependence of the people; and the court was weak enough to give way to their inſinuation and advice, from a

conſequence of that propenſity to arbitrary power natural to princes and their miniſters. They thought they provided ſufficiently for their colonies, by giving them an intendant to balance the power of the governor.

Theſe diſtant ſettlements, which, till then, had groaned under the yoke of one proprietor only, now became a prey to two, equally dangerous by their diviſion and their union. When they were at variance they divided the minds of the people, ſowed diſcord among their adherents, and kindled a kind of civil war. The rumour of their diſſenſions was at length brought to Europe, where each party had its favourers, who were animated by pride or intereſt to ſupport them in their poſts. When they agreed, either becauſe their good or bad intentions happened to be the ſame, or becauſe the one had got an entire aſcendant over the other, the coloniſts were in a worſe condition than ever. Whatever oppreſſion theſe victims laboured under, their complaints were never heard in the mother country, who looked upon the harmony that ſubſiſted between her delegates, as the moſt certain proof of a faultleſs adminiſtration.

The fate of the French colonies is not much improved. Their governors, beſides having the diſpoſal of the regular troops, have a right to inliſt the inhabitants; to order them to what works they think proper; to employ them as they think proper in time of war, and even to make uſe of them for conqueſt. Intruſted with abſolute authority, and deſirous of exerting all the powers that can eſtabliſh or extend it, they take upon themſelves the cognizance of civil debts. The debtor is ſummoned, thrown into priſon, or into a dungeon, and compelled to pay without any other formality; and this is what they call the ſervice, or the military department. The intendants have the ſole management and diſpoſal of the finances, and generally order the collecting of them. They inquire into all cauſes, both civil and criminal; whether juſtice has not yet taken cognizance of them, or whether they have already been brought before the ſuperior tribunals; and this is what they call adminiſtration. The governors and intendants jointly grant the lands that have not yet been given away, and determined, a few years ago, all differences that aroſe reſpecting the old poſſeſſions. This arrangement placed the fortunes of all the coloniſts in their hands, or in thoſe of their clerks

and dependents; and conſequently made all property precarious, and occaſioned the utmoſt confuſion.

In mechanics, the further the reſiſting powers are removed from the centre, the more the moving force muſt be increaſed; in like manner, we are told, the colonies cannot be ſecured any otherwiſe than by a harſh and abſolute government. If ſo, Sir William Petty was in the right to diſapprove of theſe ſort of ſettlements. It would be better that the earth ſhould remain unpeopled, or thinly inhabited, than that ſome powers ſhould be extended to the misfortune of the people. It is incumbent upon France to invalidate this ſyſtem of an Engliſhman againſt colonies, by improving more and more in the method of governing them. That enlightened ſpirit which diſtinguiſhes the preſent age, whatever may be the aſſertion of thoſe who attribute to the contempt of certain prejudices the vices inſeparable from luxury, and to the freedom of thinking and writing, thoſe corrupt manners that ariſe from the paſſions of the great, and from the abuſe of power: that enlightened ſpirit, I ſay, which ſtill ſupports and guides the nation, while morality is little attended to, will reſtore the court of Verſailles to thoſe judicious principles which we have ſo often pointed out to them. If any perſon hath been offended by them, he need only be queſtioned, and it will be found that he is ſome vile adulator of the great, or ſome inferior perſon attached by his ſituation or by intereſt to the adminiſtration of which he is the panegyriſt; we may conclude, that he hath not the leaſt idea of the duty which a citizen owes to his country. Shall I be conſidered as the accomplice of a villain, if I ſhould not call out when I ſee him throwing a lighted torch into the houſe of a fellow-citizen; and ſhall not my ſilence be deemed culpable, when I ſee the whole empire threatened with a conflagration? It is not the ſubject who keeps his ſovereign in the dark reſpecting the dangers of his ſituation, who can be called a faithful ſubject; it is he who acquaints him of it with frankneſs at the riſk of incurring his diſpleaſure. But it is urged, why do not you addreſs yourſelf to thoſe who govern the kingdom, rather than to the public! Can thoſe who govern it be approached? Would they liſten to you? Do they not think that all knowledge is centered in them? Do they judge for themſelves? Would not the moſt im-

portant ſpeculations be ſent back to offices and ſubmitted to the deciſion of a clerk, who would not fail to diſapprove them, either from ignorance, from vanity, or from ſome other leſs ſecret and more vile motive. It is not certain that I ſhould be heard, even if my voice were aſſiſted by a multitude of other voices. Let me therefore be allowed to ſpeak. Let me be allowed to tell my country what can raiſe her poſſeſſions in the New World, to that degree of proſperity and of happineſs of which they are ſuſceptible.

*Changes which ought to be made in the adminiſtration of the French iſlands.*

Few alterations will be found neceſſary, with regard to what concerns public worſhip; it hath been made ſubordinate as much as poſſible to civil authority. Its miniſters are monks, whoſe appearance of gravity, and whoſe ſingular dreſs, make more impreſſion upon the ignorant and ſuperſtitious negroes, than could be expected from the moſt ſublime moral precepts of religion. The allurement of novelty, ſo powerful in France, had a few years ago ſuggeſted a project of ſubſtituting biſhops and a numerous clergy to theſe convenient paſtors. In vain had all men united in rejecting a body of clergy, formidable by their ambition, their avarice, and their pretenſions. Had not the turbulent and unſkilful miniſter, who had formed this deſtructive plan, been diſgraced, the French colonies would have been tormented by a calamity, ſtill greater than that which they have experienced for ſo long a time from legiſlative authority.

Theſe great ſettlements were founded by chance, either fortunate or unfortunate, a little before the middle of the laſt century. There was at that time no fixed idea reſpecting the countries of the New World. For this reaſon the cuſtoms adopted at Paris, and the criminal laws of the kingdom, were choſen for their regulation. Judicious men have ſince that been well aware, that this kind of juriſprudence could not be ſuitable to a country of ſlavery, to a climate, to morals, to cultures, and to poſſeſſions, which have no kind of reſemblance to ours; but theſe reflections of ſome individuals have had no influence upon the operations of government. Far from correcting the defects of

theſe firſt inſtitutions, they have added to the abſurdity of the principles, embarraſſments, confuſion, and a multiplicity of forms, and conſequently no juſtice hath been rendered.

Things will remain in the ſame ſtate till a ſyſtem of legiſlation peculiarly adapted to the iſlands ſhall render juridical deciſions poſſible and even eaſy: but this important work cannot be done in France. Leave to the coloniſts aſſembled the care of repreſenting their own wants, let them be ſuffered to form themſelves ſuch a code as they ſhall think moſt ſuitable to their ſituation. When this great labour ſhall have been executed with mature deliberation, it ſhould be ſubmitted to the deepeſt and moſt rigorous diſquiſitions. The ſanction of government ought not to be granted to it, till every doubt be removed with reſpect to its utility and to its perfection. There will then be no fear of a want of good magiſtrates. The laws will be ſo preciſe, ſo clear, and ſo well adapted to buſineſs, that the tribunals will no longer be accuſed of ignorance, of want of application, or of diſhoneſty.

From this new order of things an exact police would ariſe. This method of keeping the citizens in order is eaſy in Europe. A father does the office of a cenſor in his own family; he watches over his wife, his children, and his domeſtics. The proprietor, or the principal tenant, exerts the ſame authority in his houſe; the manufacturer or the tradeſman in his warehouſe, or in his workſhop. One neighbour is a kind of inſpector over another. Aſſociations of men jealous of their honour, keep a vigilant eye over the conduct and actions of their members; no man of bad character is received among them, and they expel thoſe who have diſgraced themſelves. A dangerous man is ſoon found out, and every door is ſhut againſt him. There is a tribunal of honour, and another of ſcandal. Morality exerts a kind of judicature which no one can avoid. Where is the man, who is not more or leſs reſtrained by the public opinion? All theſe ſpecies of authority derogate from the functions of government. America, full of inſulated individuals, without country, and without relations, who are for ever changing place, and inceſſantly renewed, and who are urged to the boldeſt enterpriſes by their thirſt after

riches: America requires a more active, a more ſteady, and a more circumſtantial, adminiſtration.

Inſtead of this, one officer, under the name of King's lieutenant, reſiding in a port, or in a ſmall town, was for a long while ſolely intruſted with that important office in the French iſlands. This man was a petty tyrant, who diſtreſſed the planters, who extorted money from trade, and who preferred the ſelling of a pardon to the prevention of miſdemeanours. For ſome years paſt the commanders of the militia have in each diſtrict been intruſted with the care of maintaining public tranquillity, under the inſpection of the chief of the colony. This new arrangement is not ſo defective as the former, but it is ſtill too arbitrary. Let us indulge in the pleaſing expectation, that the ſame code by which the fortune of each individual ſhall be put under the protection of the laws, will alſo ſecure his liberty.

At this period trade will be better regulated than it hath yet been. The French merchants do not go themſelves to the iſlands, but they ſend there cargoes more or leſs valuable. Thoſe which are not of much value, are commonly diſtributed by the captains of the ſhips for ready money. The moſt important of them, ſuch as thoſe which carry ſlaves, are moſtly delivered upon credit, and agents are fixed in thoſe ſettlements for the collecting of the money. The payments are ſeldom made at the appointed time; and this want of punctuality hath always occaſioned diſputes between the colonies and the mother country. Adminiſtration have for a long time been endeavouring to put an end to theſe eternal diſcords. Might there not be a regiſter kept in each juriſdiction, in which every debt ſhould be noted in the ſame order in which it had been contracted? When intelligent perſons ſhould determine, that the debtor's eſtate was mortgaged for more than half its value, every creditor ſhould be allowed to put it up to ſale.

This arrangement, though wiſe and neceſſary, would certainly diſpleaſe the colonists; but they would ſoon be comforted, reſpecting what they might at firſt have conſidered as an unfortunate circumſtance, ſhould that rigour be moderated by a better adminiſtration of the finances. Government were cruel enough, even at the firſt origin of the colonies, to exact a tribute from thoſe unfortunate

people who went to the New World to ſeek their ſubſiſtence. Stronger contributions were required of them, in proportion as their labours and the fruits of their induſtry were multiplied; and yet this enormous weight, with which their commodities, their conſumptions, and their ſlaves, were overloaded, ſcarcely excites a feeble remonſtrance. The complaints are generally founded upon the tyrannical manner in which the public revenue is collected, and upon the pernicious uſes to which it is applied. It is alleged, that their treaſury thinks itſelf exhauſted by the expences which are required for the preſervation of the iſlands. They themſelves offer to defray all theſe expences in the moſt ample manner, provided that the taxes be regulated and diſpoſed of by the national aſſemblies. The troops will then be more regularly paid, and the fortifications kept in better order, under the inſpection of government itſelf. Diſencumbered from that multitude of officers, who, under the name of the ſtaff, exhauſt them; of thoſe legions of rapacious farmers of the revenue who oppreſs them inceſſantly and beyond meaſure, the colonies will attend to their improvement. Convenient roads will be opened on all ſides, the moraſſes will be dried up, a bed will be digged for the torrents, that of the rivers will be repaired, and bridges will be conſtructed to ſecure the communications. The young creoles will receive upon their own ſoil a proper education, which they did not obtain even by croſſing the ſeas. In a word, there will be a body appointed, which ſhall be authoriſed to purſue, even to the foot of the throne, that deſpotic rage which ſo frequently ſeizes upon thoſe vain or corrupt men, who are choſen by intrigue or by ignorance to govern theſe diſtant regions.

Nothing appears to be more conſonant to the ends of ſound policy, than to allow theſe iſlanders the right of governing themſelves, provided it be in ſubordination to the mother country; nearly in the ſame manner as a boat follows all the directions of the ſhip it is faſtened to. It will, perhaps, be objected, that the people in thoſe remote iſlands being continually renewed by the fluctuation of commerce, this will naturally bring in a number of worthleſs men; and that it will be long before we can expect to ſee thoſe manners and that ſagacity among them, which will be produc-

tive of public ſpirit, and of that dignity which is requiſite to ſupport the weight of affairs and the intereſts of a nation. This objection might have ſome foundation, if we attended merely to the character of thoſe Europeans who are driven to America by their wants or their vices; who, by thus tranſporting themſelves, either by choice or from other motives, are ſtrangers everywhere; commonly corrupted by the want of laws, ill-ſupplied by an arbitrary police; by that depraved taſte for dominion, which reſults from the abuſe of ſlavery; and by the dazzling luſtre of a great fortune, which makes them forget their former obſcurity. But this claſs of men ought to have no ſhare in the adminiſtration, which ſhould be wholly committed to proprietors, moſtly born in the colonies: for juſtice is the natural conſequence of property; and none are more intereſted in the good government of a country, than thoſe who are intitled by their birth to the largeſt poſſeſſions in it. Theſe creoles, who have naturally a great ſhare of penetration, a frankneſs of character, an elevation of ſoul, and a certain love of juſtice that ariſes from theſe valuable diſpoſitions, would be ſo ſenſible of the marks of eſteem and confidence which would be ſhewn them by the mother country, in intruſting them with the interior management of their own, that they would grow fond of that fertile ſoil, take a pride in improving it, and be happy in introducing all the comforts of a civilized ſociety. Inſtead of that antipathy to France, which is a reflection upon her miniſters, and upbraids them with their ſeverity, we ſhould ſee in the colonies that attachment which paternal kindneſs always inſpires to children. Inſtead of that ſecret eagerneſs which, in time of war, makes them readily ſubmit to a foreign yoke, we ſhould ſee them uniting their efforts to prevent or repulſe an invaſion. Fear will reſtrain men under the immediate eye of a powerful and formidable maſter; but affection alone can command them at a diſtance. This is, perhaps, the only ſpring that acts upon the frontier provinces of an extenſive kingdom; while the indolent and rapacious inhabitants of the metropolis are kept in awe by authority. Attachment to the ſovereign is a principle which cannot be too much encouraged or too much extended; but if it be neither merited nor returned, he will not enjoy it long. No more joy will then appear in public feſtivals, no tranſports of exultation, no involun-

tary acclamations will be heard at the ſight of the beloved idol. Curioſity will bring a throng wherever there is a public ſpectacle; but contentment will not appear in any countenance. A ſullen diſcontent will ariſe, and ſpread from one province to another; and from the mother country to the colonies. When the fortunes of all men are injured or threatened at once, the alarm and the commotion becomes general. Exertions of authority, multiplied by the imprudence of thoſe who firſt venture upon them, occaſion a general alarm, and fall ſucceſſively upon all bodies of men. The avengers of crimes, and ſupporters of the rights of the coloniſts, are brought up even from America, and confined like malefactors in the priſons of Europe. The weapons of government, which ſeemed uſeleſs againſt the enemy, are directed againſt theſe valuable ſubjects of the ſtate. Thoſe people, who could not be defended in time of war, are alarmed in time of peace. The French miniſtry have never granted to their poſſeſſions in the New World the ſupport requiſite to preſerve them from ravages or from invaſion, and they will never fulfil this obligation, unleſs they increaſe in the Old World their arſenals, their manufactures, and their ſlaves. Philoſophers of all countries, friends of mankind, pardon a French writer who endeavours to excite his country to raiſe a formidable navy. It is in order to ſecure the tranquillity of the world that he wiſhes to ſee that ſame equilibrium eſtabliſhed in all the ſeas, which conſtitutes at preſent the ſecurity of the continent.

*Can France acquire a military navy? Doth it ſuit her to have one? What meaſures muſt be taken for that purpoſe?*

If it ſhould be doubted whether France can aſpire to that kind of power, we have only to conſider its poſition. Sufficiently extenſive to prevent it from being dependent upon any of the ſurrounding powers, and yet ſo fortunately limited as not to be weakened by its extent, this monarchy is ſituated in the centre of Europe, between the ocean and the Mediterranean. It can tranſport all its productions from one ſea to another, without paſſing under the threatening cannon of Gibraltar, or under the inſulting flag of the Barbary powers. Moſt of its provinces are watered by rivers, or interſected by canals, which ſecure the communication between its in-

land countries and its ports, and between its ports and its inland countries. Its neighbours are, fortunately, not able to furniſh their own ſubſiſtence, or carry on a trade that is merely paſſive. The temperature of its climate procures to it the ineſtimable advantage of ſending out and receiving its ſhips at all ſeaſons of the year. The depth of its harbours enables it to give to its ſhips the form the moſt proper for ſwiftneſs and ſecurity.

Can France be in need of objects and of materials for exportation? Its productions, of the Old and of the New World, are eagerly ſought after by all nations: but it is more eſpecially by its manufactures, and by its faſhions, that it hath ſubdued Europe, and ſome parts of the other hemiſphere. The nations are faſcinated, and will ever remain ſo. The endeavours which have everywhere been made to get rid of ſo ruinous a tribute, by imitations of this foreign induſtry, have nowhere had the expected ſucceſs. The fertility of invention will ever be beforehand with the quickneſs of imitation; and the agility of a people, in whoſe hands every thing aſſumes a youthful appearance, and who have the art of making every thing appear old among their neighbours, will deceive the jealouſy and the avidity of thoſe who endeavour to enter into a competition with them by imitation. How extenſive might the navigation of an empire be, which furniſhes to the other ſtates the objects of their vanity, of their luxury, and of their voluptuouſneſs?

Can the population of France be deemed inadequate to numerous armaments? It is well known at preſent, that this power reckons twenty-two millions of inhabitants. The reproach that is made them, that they have more ſailors upon each of their ſhips than their rivals, is alone a ſufficient proof that men are not wanted for the naval art, but that they are themſelves deficient in it. Yet no people have ever received from nature more of that vivacity of genius, fit to improve the building of ſhips, or more of that dexterity of body, ſo well calculated to ſpare the time and expences of handicraft, by the ſimplicity and celerity of the means employed.

Is it becauſe France cannot furniſh from itſelf all ſorts of naval ſtores, that it can be thought unable to have a maritime force? But are not her rivals likewiſe obliged to

have recourſe for theſe things to the north of Europe, and even more than France herſelf? Doth their climate, their induſtry, and their colonies, furniſh them with the ſame facility of completing their exchanges in the Baltic?

France hath therefore all the requiſites neceſſary to become a truly naval power: but doth it ſuit her to entertain this ambitious idea?

For a long time, the only method known to acquire fortune and glory, was by numerous and well diſciplined armies. The Eaſt and the Weſt Indies were diſcovered; and this unforeſeen event occaſioned an aſtoniſhing revolution in the minds of all men. Perhaps a reaſonable ambition would have been contented with obtaining, by the mode of exchange, the riches and the productions of theſe two extenſive parts of the globe. The thirſt of dominion, too common among nations, occaſioned the ruinous and deſtructive ſyſtem of conqueſts to be generally preferred. Theſe immenſe regions were moſtly ſubdued. Matters were carried ſtill farther. The people who inhabited theſe new climates were either too weak or too indolent to ſerve as the inſtruments of the cupidity of an unjuſt invader. In ſeveral places, they were all either exterminated, or expelled from the countries that had given them birth, and Europeans, or African ſlaves, were ſubſtituted to them, who multiplied the commodities, the germina of which they found there, and who eſtabliſhed other cultures, which a new, fertile, and varied, ſoil could eaſily ſupply.

It was neceſſary to give ſome ſtability to theſe ſettlements. The reſtleſſneſs of the nations which had divided theſe virgin regions, and the jealouſy of thoſe which had not enjoyed that advantage, were equally to be apprehended. A naval force alone could give conſiſtence to the riſing colonies, and even to thoſe which were in the greateſt forwardneſs. To preſerve them from invaſion, fleets were conſtructed and fitted out. At this remarkable period, the ſyſtem of politics was entirely altered. The earth was in ſome meaſure ſubjected to the ſea, and the great political ſtrokes were ſtricken on the ocean.

France, leſs accuſtomed to ſerve as a guide, than to ſurpaſs its maſters, beheld without emulation the riſe of a new ſpecies of power. The navy did not even form any part of the too extenſive projects of the ambitious Richelieu. It

was reserved to the monarch for whose grandeur he had paved the way, to make his flag respected in the two hemispheres. But this glory was of small duration. Lewis XIV, by his enterprises, irritated the whole continent; and, in order to resist the leagues which were formed there against him, was obliged to maintain innumerable armies. His kingdom soon became nothing more than a camp; and his frontiers were only a string of fortified places. The springs of the state were always kept in too high a degree of tension under this brilliant reign. One crisis was succeeded by another. At length the finances were in disorder; and in the impossibility of defraying all the expences, the sacrifice of the naval forces was thought, perhaps improperly, to be indispensable.

Since the end of a century, in which the nation sustained its disgraces, by the remembrance at least of its successes, and still kept Europe in awe by forty years of glory, cherished a government by which it had been honoured, and bade defiance to rivals whom it had humbled: since that period, France hath lost much of its pride, notwithstanding the acquisitions with which its territory hath been extended. A long peace would not have enervated her, if her forces, too long lavished in war, had been turned to the navy: but her naval powers have acquired no consistence. The avarice of one minister; the prodigality of another; the indolence of several; false notions; trifling interests; the intrigues of the court, by which government is guided; a series of vices and of faults; a number of obscure and despicable causes: all these circumstances have prevented the nation from becoming as powerful upon sea as it had been on the continent; at least from acquiring a balance, if not a prepondevance, of power. Even the losses which France experienced in all parts of the globe, during the hostilities begun in 1756; the humiliations which she was obliged to submit to at the peace of 1763, did not restore a spirit of wisdom to the council that governed the nation, and did not turn their projects and their efforts towards the system of a formidable navy.

But what measures should France pursue, in order to create and maintain a naval force?

The first step to be taken, without which the others would become either useless or fatal, must be, to encourage

the mercantile branch of the navy. It is that alone which can form men, inured to the hardſhips of climates, to the fatigues of labour, and to the dangers of ſtorms. This truth being once eſtabliſhed, thoſe innumerable ſhackles which have hitherto excluſively inſured the exportation of the commodities of the kingdom to foreign nations, and which have even too often given up to them the coaſting trade, will be taken off. We will not affirm, that an act of navigation, ſimilar to that which hath occaſioned the glory of England, would be ſuitable to France: but that crown ought at leaſt to eſtabliſh ſuch regulations as might enable its ſubjects to ſhare thoſe benefits which the Swedes, the Danes, and the Dutch, come and take from them even in their own harbours.

This new order of things will never be eſtabliſhed, till the naval trade ſhall emerge from that humiliating ſtate into which it hath hitherto unfortunately been plunged. The laws forbid any navigator from commanding a trading veſſel, till he ſhall have made three voyages upon a king's ſhip: after this trial, he may ſtill be compelled to remain in the king's ſervice during a time of war. The abject ſtate in which he is kept in that ſervice muſt neceſſarily excite an averſion for the ſea in all men who have received any education, who enjoy ſome kind of fortunes, or who have ſome degree of ſpirit. Either theſe ſhameful fetters muſt be broken, or the French muſt give up the hopes of ſeeing the ocean covered with their numerous and rich armaments.

The ſtate of oppreſſion in which the ſailors are kept, is another obſtacle to the multiplication of expeditions. Theſe men, who ſo eſſentially contribute to the opulence and to the ſtrength of the kingdom, are inſcribed in regiſters, and are inſtantly obliged to embark on-board of men of war, upon receiving orders from the miniſtry, for whatever time they ſhall chooſe, and at whatever ſtipend it may be thought proper to give them; nor are theſe hard terms in the leaſt alleviated by any conſideration either of talents or age. At the time even when they are not employed in the public ſervice, they are not allowed to diſpoſe of their induſtry and of their leiſure, without the permiſſion of an agent of government. This ſlavery averts from this neceſſary profeſſion moſt of thoſe whoſe inclination would otherwiſe

have led them to it, if it were not deſtructive of all kind of liberty. If theſe inſtitutions were ſuppreſſed, or at leaſt the ſeverity of them were diminiſhed, the harbours and the coaſts of France would then be filled with ſailors.

But who ſhall lead them on to action, and to the defence of their country? Seignelay decided that it ſhould be the nobility, and his opinion hath been adopted ever ſince. Hath nature then excluſively granted to a nobleman a natural conſtitution, which cannot be affected by climate, by hunger, and by fatigue? Hath ſhe excluſively granted to him the boldneſs that bids defiance to danger, and the coolneſs that ſurmounts it? Hath ſhe given to him excluſively that genius which determines and inſures victory? It is ſaid, that opinion and prejudice inſpire men of this rank with an ardour for glory, and an indifference for wealth, which are not to be found among other claſſes of men! What! is it in the midſt of a corrupt court, is it among the rubbiſh of a ruined caſtle, that principles of elevation and of diſintereſtedneſs are to be preferably ſought for? The ſon of a navigator, whoſe fortunate labours have been crowned with wealth, and who can have no other ambition than that of rendering his name illuſtrious, is no leſs powerfully excited to memorable actions and to great ſacrifices, than that young nobleman who is conſtantly ſheltering himſelf under the laurels of his anceſtors. What period hath ever ſhewn, that a title which we are in poſſeſſion of is a more powerful ſtimulus than one to which we aſpire? What was the firſt perſon who deſerved nobility before he had obtained it? If ſome of his illuſtrious deſcendants had been in his place, his children and his poſterity would have remained in obſcurity. True nobility was in the blood and in the deſtiny of man, before it exiſted upon parchment. To acquire it, it is neceſſary to have good fortune and merit: good fortune, which ſhall preſent occaſions to us, and merit, by which we may improve them. All who have been ennobled in paſt ages, and all who ſhall be ennobled in future, have proved, and will hereafter prove, that this great road is open to a few men only; and that it is as eaſy to find a great mind under a plain dreſs, as a mean ſpirit under the decoration of a riband. Courage, virtue, and genius, belong to all ranks. But in order to aſcertain this matter, let the career be laid open indiſcriminately to all perſons who

ſhall have received a decent education. Let them be embarked on-board men of war; let them take a few voyages under experienced commanders; let them be ſubjected to all the labours, and to all the ſelf-denials, which this difficult profeſſion requires. After theſe trials, let thoſe who have ſhewn the greateſt degree of ſpirit, of ſkill, of courage, and of emulation, be admitted into the royal navy.

The excellence of an art, which enables us ſometimes to ſubdue the elements; the advantages of a profeſſion, in which the opportunities of ſignalizing one's ſelf are more frequent, and in which glory is the perſonal acquiſition of every man, as ſoon as he hath obtained the command of the ſmalleſt veſſel; all theſe reaſons will induce them to ſtudy, to reflect, and eſpecially to be always manœuvering; for in this profeſſion, the moſt learned theory muſt be conſtantly accompanied with practice. Either in action, or in ſimple navigation, reſolutions muſt be ſo quick, that they ſhall appear rather as the reſult of feeling than of reflection. The ſea officer is more particularly in need of thoſe deciſive thoughts, of thoſe ſudden illuminations, as they have been ſo well deſcribed by a ſublime orator, in his eulogium of a great captain: and theſe ſtrokes of inſtinct and talents, to ſpeak in a leſs elevated ſtyle, muſt be ſooner acquired by practice than by theory.

This idea of continual practice the French navy are utterly ſtrangers to. Looſe armaments, voyages of a day, in which the time of returning into port is known at the time of going out of it: coaſts which are viſited with as little attention as thoſe countries through which a man travels poſt: colonies, of which we know as little when we leave them as we did at our arrival: expeditions, in which a ſpeedy return is the only prevailing idea, and where the mind is conſtantly abſorbed in attention to former habits: ſhips, which are conſidered as priſons, and which are quitted with tranſport, without being acquainted either with their defects or perfections. O Frenchmen! O my fellow-citizens! this is exactly a true picture! ſuch hath been hitherto the deplorable employment of the naval forces of our country.

To theſe ſucceſſive armaments of a few ſolitary frigates, the tranſient expedition of which is of no real utility, let us ſubſtitute permanent ſquadrons, that ſhall remain three

years, or more, in all the latitudes of the Old and of the New World, where we have any ſettlements, or where we carry on an extenſive trade. Let theſe inſtructive cruizes conſtantly employ one half of our inferior veſſels, and ſome ſhips of the line. Then the officers who remain in the profeſſion merely on account of the facility of fulfilling the duties of it, will retire; and thoſe who perſevere in this perilous and honourable employment will then acquire information, experience, and a fondneſs for that element, upon which they expect to obtain glory and fortune. Subalterns then growing emulous to pleaſe ſuperiors deſtined to command them for a length of time, will learn ſubordination. The crews, trained up with care to the ſervice, and inſtructed in the manœuvres by the captains who are to reap the fruits of all their trouble, will then fight with more reſolution and with better ſkill. Europe hath appeared aſtoniſhed that the French, who were worthy rivals of the Engliſh at the beginning of the laſt wars, had loſt in time that honourable equality. Several cauſes have occaſioned this revolution: the principal of them, and which hath not been attended to, is, that the French have had freſh ſailors every campaign, and that their rivals have always kept the ſame till the termination of hoſtilities.

The eſtabliſhment of ſtationary ſquadrons ſhould be followed by other innovations of no leſs importance. The corps of the navy, at preſent too numerous, and burthened with uſeleſs and idle members, ought to be proportioned to the number of ſhips and of armaments. Thoſe fatal departments, which excite jealouſy without emulation, and which, by hereditary hatred, often occaſion the miſcarriage of the beſt contrived projects, muſt be aboliſhed. Rank, which everywhere, and in all ages, hath ſtifled genius and talents, will ceaſe to preſide over the promotions and the rewards. Among the too great number of ranks it is neceſſary to paſs through, ſeveral muſt be ſuppreſſed, in order that it may be poſſible for a man to acquire a command before the time preſcribed by nature for quitting it. If it be thought neceſſary to preſerve the different claſſes of officers, the direction of them will be altered and better regulated. The admirals, whoſe ſtrength, courage, and activity, ſhall be diminiſhed, either by age, by labour, or by the wounds they may have received, muſt form a tribunal, which ſhall

direct the choice, the preservation, and the employment, of the naval stores. It must be the business of this tribunal to regulate admission into the navy, to determine the promotions, to bestow the command, to settle the cruizes, and direct as much as possible all the operations. Such will hereafter be the council of a minister, who, ignorant of his functions, situated at the distance of a hundred leagues from the sea, devoted, either from inclination or necessity, to the intrigues of a tempestuous court, hath been constantly, to the present time, the sport of a few obscure, ignorant, and interested, adventurers.

In proportion as these plans of reformation which we have been tracing shall be carried into execution, the ships, which were growing rotten in a state of inaction, will be repaired, and others will be constructed. France will soon acquire numerous fleets. But where shall the resources be found to put them in action?

Let those two magnificent or useless edifices, the maintaining of which becomes ruinous, be demolished: let there be a stop put to the dishonesty which hath but too commonly prevailed in the purchase of naval stores, and to the negligence with which they have been hitherto taken care of: let those useless hands, which protection hath multiplied in our arsenals, be dismissed: let the measures of administration be rendered more simple, by introducing justice and punctuality in our payments: let the crews of the ships, which all disinterested persons acknowledge to be too numerous, be diminished: let all those officers, who are not employed at sea in the service of the state, be reduced to half pay: let every species of luxury, delicacy, and voluptuousness, which enervates our defenders and ruins our squadrons, be abolished: let the refitting and repairing of our ships become less frequently necessary. After all these alterations, the funds at present set apart for the navy will be found sufficient to put this essential branch of our power upon a respectable footing. There is even a very simple method of raising it still higher, without any additional expence, which I shall now point out.

France hath formed colonies in the New World, from which it annually receives to the amount of 130,000,000 of livres [5,416,666l. 13s. 4d.] in commodities. The loss of so considerable a produce would leave an immense va-

cancy in its ſpecie, in its population, in its induſtry, and in its public revenue. The importance of preſerving theſe rich ſettlements hath been underſtood, and in order to accompliſh it, recourſe hath been had to battalions and fortreſſes. Experience hath proved the inſufficiency of theſe means. The defence of theſe colonies belongs, and muſt excluſively belong, to the navy. The iſlands muſt therefore be put under its protection, and the expences incurred for the inſufficient protection of them muſt be turned into its treaſury: then will the ordinary funds of the navy of France be found ſufficient for the purpoſe of carrying on its operations with dignity and advantage.

Such are the expectations of Europe. She will not think her liberty ſecured, till a flag ſhall be ſeen diſplayed upon the ocean that ſhall not tremble before that of Great Britain. The wiſhes of the nations are now united in favour of that power which may be able to defend them againſt the pretenſions of one ſingle people to the univerſal monarchy of the ſeas; and at this preſent period there is none but France that can free them from this anxiety. The ſyſtem of equilibrium requires, therefore, that the court of Verſailles ſhould increaſe their navy, more eſpecially as they cannot do it without diminiſhing their land forces. Their influence being then divided between the two elements, will no longer be formidable on either, except to thoſe who ſhould be deſirous of diſturbing the harmony.

Before I die, may this great revolution, already begun, be completed; together with other reformations which I have pointed out. Then ſhall I have obtained the true reward of my vigils. Then ſhall I exclaim: it is not in vain that I have obſerved, reflected, and laboured. Then ſhall I addreſs myſelf to heaven, and ſay: "diſpoſe of me at "preſent according to thy will, for mine eyes have ſeen "the ſplendour of my country, and the liberty of the ſeas "reſtored unto all nations!"

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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